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# The Antiquaries Journal

Vol. XXII

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## *The Greek Trade at Al Mina:<sup>1</sup>*

### *A Footnote to Oriental History*

By PROFESSOR SIDNEY SMITH, V.-P.S.A., F.B.A.

THE excavation conducted by Sir Leonard Woolley in 1936 and 1937 at the site near al Mina, at the mouth of the Orontes, produced material of interest not only for archaeological study but also for Oriental history.<sup>2</sup> The eighth to the fourth centuries of the pre-Christian era, to which the material remains belong, are also represented at other sites in Syria and Palestine that have been excavated by scientific expeditions. But the Phoenician cities, Byblos and Sidon, the north Syrian cities, Carchemish and Sinčirli, the sites on the plain of Aleppo reported on by the Syrian expedition of the Oriental Institute of Chicago, and Palestinian sites, have not yielded the same material of one special kind as al Mina, or only stray examples of it. There Cycladic and proto-Corinthian sherds and later developments of early Greek vases show conclusively that there was trade between the little Syrian port on the one side and the Aegean islands and the Greek mainland on the other, between the beginning of the eighth century and the end of the seventh. Similarly Attic pottery and coins are a proof of the encouragement given to Athenian trade at the same port from the time of Darius I to that of Artaxerxes III. In this respect new knowledge is to be gained from the finds at al Mina as to the history of the north Syrian coast during five centuries. The conclusions that may be drawn form an interesting footnote to what is known, and to some of the assumptions, about general Oriental history.

The question what conclusions can properly be drawn is bound to be disputed for a long time, for there are as yet no strictly formulated rules for the use of such evidence. The first approach to the

<sup>1</sup> A paper read before the Society on 30th October 1941.

<sup>2</sup> Reports by Sir Leonard Woolley, 'Excavations near Antioch in 1936', in *The Antiquaries Journal*, xvii, 1-15; 'Excavations at al Mina, Sueidia', in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, lviii, 1-30, 133-70.



subject can only be tentative, and cannot include all the relevant considerations; it is bound to be one-sided, and ought speedily to be replaced by something better. The present essay, which aims at relating facts about the history of al Mina deduced from the excavations to the general framework of Oriental history, is no more than a *ballon d'essai*. Even so, the attempt may be thought over-bold. It will be of some service if it draws attention to the interest of the problems that need elucidation.

Though Syria is often spoken of by historians of the ancient world for convenience as if it was an entity, it is a simple truth that it was not, geographically, ethnographically, or politically. There was no name, even, that covered the area we mean by Syria till the sixth century B.C. Then the term used to denote the satrapy of Syria and Palestine as a constituent part of the Persian Empire was the vague geographical description, 'Beyond the River', applicable because the satrapy was governed from Babylon. In the list of lands subject to Darius I that appears in an Old Persian inscription, this name is replaced by another, *Arabaia*, the Arabian land, an equally vague name. In later periods Syria had still no precise boundaries, or rather, it had boundaries that constantly shifted; it was never, in ancient times, a true linguistic unit or a national state. Within it, however, there were divisions created by geography, ethnography, or language, which varied in extent and nature. Thus one area that had a certain coherence was the 'Amq plain, including the northern valley of the Orontes and stretching as far east as Aleppo. To the south was another such area, the southern valley of the Orontes, where the towns generally accepted the leadership of Hamath. To the north were the kingdoms of Carchemish and Cilicia, the latter including the gulf of Alexandretta. On the south-west the Phoenician towns were not bound together into a political unity till Sidon or Tyre imposed suzerainty, and Phoenicia did not include the bay into which the Orontes flows. From the ninth to the fifth century the northernmost of the Phoenician ports was Arvad. Before 1200 B.C. the most northerly port mentioned in the numerous Egyptian, Babylonian, and Hittite texts as lying south of the gulf of Alexandretta was Ugarit, the modern Minat al Baidha, with the residential quarter at Ras Shamra. The gulf of Suwaidia, in which al Mina lies, is shut off from the south by the promontory of Mount Casius, and from the north by Ras al Khanzir; on the east there lies the Amanus, and the only natural access is along the valley of the Orontes or from the sea. The coast is, therefore, inaccessible and easily defended on the land side. It is not a place Syrians would find attractive as a site for a town, from the point of view of climate or situation.

Sir Leonard Woolley has told how he was led to the discovery of al Mina by *a priori* reasoning. His aim was to find a site which



should produce evidence of the connexions that he was sure existed between Syria and the Aegean, not only in the middle centuries of the first millennium B.C., but also in the second millennium at the time when the Middle Minoan period was drawing to a close and the Egyptian and Hittite Empires were struggling with each other. Since the sites on the 'Amq plain had, Woolley thought, produced evidence of the Cretan connexion, he concluded that the trade, which he assumed, must have passed through the nearest port. That, he argued, would lie at or near the mouth of the Orontes, and thus he was led to the small site at al Mina. What he found there was, in his opinion, only the business part of the settlement. Three miles up the river lay a site called Sabuni, on a hill-side, where the ground was cut away so that the stratification of the deposits was ascertained after a little digging. All the periods represented at al Mina are found at Sabuni too, and yet an earlier one, of which the principal remains were Cypriote milk-bowls and Mycenaean pottery. The difficulty of explaining why the earlier stage at Sabuni was not found at al Mina, if the two sites were really parts of the same settlement, was explained by Woolley as due to the history of the site at al Mina. The configuration of the land shows that the northern part of the site has been cut away by a change of the river-bed, the memory of which is still recalled in a story about the local saint whose cenotaph stands on the ruins. What is left of the ancient town, the south-western portion, was farther from the river-bank and was therefore, Woolley infers, probably later than the part of the site cut away about 150 years ago. He accordingly assumes that al Mina was at least as old as Sabuni, which, in his reckoning, goes back to the Cypriote Bronze Age. He thinks that al Mina may be even earlier than Sabuni, since the part of the site first inhabited may have been destroyed by changes in the river-bed many centuries ago.

No critical description of the material from the earliest stratum at Sabuni has been published. A class of pottery of Mycenaean type, sometimes called Philistine, is found on Palestinian sites and has now turned up not only in northern Syria but also in Cilicia, at Tarsus;<sup>1</sup> it seems to be related to Late Helladic III, but it may be derived directly from an older Syrian tradition. Neither this class

<sup>1</sup> See W. A. Heurtley in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, v, 90-110; C. W. McEwan in *American Journal of Archaeology*, xli, 10, Period V; Miss Hetty Goldman, 'A Note on Two Painted Sherds with Representations of Birds from Gözlü Kule, Tarsus' in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Dec. 1939, p. 2, and *American Journal of Archaeology*, xliv, 76. The fragments published in K. Bittel und G. Güterbock, *Boğazköy* (Abhandlungen der preuss. Ak. der W., Jahrgang 1933, phil.-hist. Kl., No. 1), Taf. 16, No. 3, Taf. 17, nos. 8 and 10, must be stray representatives of the same class, out of their proper connection and not recognised by Bittel, p. 59.



of pottery nor the Cypriote milk-bowls often associated with it are older than 1200 B.C. It seems probable that the pottery at Sabuni is connected with that found in the northern Syrian sites. If the early stratum at Sabuni covers the whole of the period 1200 B.C. to 750 B.C., four and a half centuries, then it represents a period as long as all the other levels combined, which does not seem likely. It may be that this difficulty could be cleared up by further investigation. In any case, the Mycenaean sherds should not, without proof, be held to show direct connexion between Sabuni and the Greek mainland after 1200 and before 800. If Sir Leonard Woolley's hypothesis of an earlier period at al Mina than any found in the excavated area is correct, then the port may have been founded in the twelfth century, about the same time as the Cypriote colonies. This conclusion must be considered very probable.

The hypothesis that al Mina was in existence earlier than 1200 is, however, different and independent, and it conflicts with the evidence of the documents as to the cities which existed on the Syrian coast at the time of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, the very period about which our documentary information is comparatively good. Comparison of the texts dating from before 1200 with those that are later shows that the great Phoenician cities, Arvad, Simyra, Sidon, Tyre, existed both before and after the invasion by the Peoples of the Sea. But some of the smaller ports which prospered before 1200, for instance Berut, Ugarit, Ullaza, disappeared and are not mentioned again in Egyptian or Assyrian records. If al Mina existed before the invasion and was a small port, it seems unlikely that it should survive and have a continuous history when more important places did not. It seems still more unlikely that there should be no mention of a place north of Ugarit in the Amarna letters or Egyptian lists. The towns of the Orontes valley, judging from the case of Alalakh, the modern 'Atshanah, had direct connexions with Ugarit, and Thutmose III certainly used that port in his operations against the north Syrian districts. Even Aleppo was closely connected with Ugarit, as documents found by Schaeffer in one of his last seasons at Ras Shamra prove. Practical reasons, too, are against the hypothesis, for it is not easy to see any need for the port at al Mina while Ugarit-Ras Shamra existed. Finally, the theory of direct connexion between the 'Amq plain and Crete in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. is not supported by the archaeological evidence and is not sufficient ground for the hypothesis.

Whatever the truth about the early history of al Mina may be, the historical interest lies in the clear proof of trade with Greece provided by the pottery remains in the various levels of the excavated area. Sir Leonard Woolley has divided these levels into ten. He states expressly that these are only levels in the sense that individual

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houses were rebuilt when they fell into disrepair or that the floor-level was raised inside the building. Only in the case of one level was there evidence that a clean sweep of the buildings was made before the buildings of the next were put up, and this must have a special significance. The material remains mark the passing of time, but there is no sign of a breach in continuous habitation between level X, the earliest period, and the end of level V, where the marked break occurs. Pottery from level X is said to be much the same as that from level IX, but Mr. Martin Robertson, who has subjected the early Greek pottery from al Mina to a full and careful examination,<sup>1</sup> has not seen any of the material from level X.

Level	Estimated date	Material
X IX-VIII VII-V	800?-760? 760?-680? 680?-580?	Sherds all of sub-geometric type, similar to level IX. Cycladic. Analogies to 'Early Proto-Attic'. Cycladic. 'Rhodian' A and a little B. Proto-Corinthian and a little Corinthian. Chiote.
Clean sweep of all excavated buildings.		
IV	520?-430	Very little black-figure, poor and late. Red-figure. Earliest: an eye-cup and column-kraters by 'Chairippos painter'. Latest: fragments from skyphoi by the 'Marlay painter'.
III	430-375	Bell-kraters and calyx-kraters. Earliest: 'Group of Polygnotos', 'Hephaistos painter', 'Dinos painter'. Latest: dancing scenes. Athenian coins and imitations in three hoards. This level was partly destroyed by fire.
II	375-312	Macedonian, Seleucid and Ptolemaic coins.

*Excavations at Al Mina: Chart of Levels*

Based on reports by Sir LEONARD WOOLLEY, Mr. MARTIN ROBERTSON, Professor J. D. BEAZLEY, and Mr. S. G. ROBINSON

In Mr. Robertson's opinion the earliest pottery imported from the Cyclades in level IX is of a style earlier, but not much earlier, than 750 B.C. Level IX is only distinguished from level X by traces of rebuilding in the walls. It seems safe to infer, as Sir Leonard Woolley does, that the beginning of the earliest level, and of direct trade with the Greek islands and mainland, fell about 800 B.C., not earlier and not much later. What was the state of affairs at this time in the northern Orontes valley, the only inland district which had direct access to al Mina?

The end of the ninth and the beginning of the eighth century was marked in western Asia by the struggle between Assyria and Urartu, the Biblical land of Ararat, which later became Armenia.

<sup>1</sup> Martin Robertson, 'The Excavations at al Mina, Suweidia. IV. The Early Greek Vases', in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, lx, 2-21.



These two Powers, at first in contact only along the northern and north-eastern borders of Assyria, came into conflict in the west after the Assyrians had, in the second half of the ninth century, eliminated Aramaean dynasties which had established themselves in the small kingdoms on the Khabur, Balikh, Euphrates, and also on the Quwaiq and Orontes. Before 800, in the time of Adad-nirari III of Assyria, battle was joined all along the foothills of the Taurus, but the northerners could not reach the plains. Then Assyria weakened and finally lost the hold it seemed to have established from the Khabur to the Orontes. The towns of the northern Orontes belonged at that time, as did also Aleppo on the Quwaiq, to a state called Bit-Agusi, the capital of which was Arpad. This kingdom became a client of Argistis II of Urartu. Between 780 and 750 the cities on the 'Amq plain had little or nothing to fear from Assyria, though there were unsuccessful attempts on the part of Assyrian kings to recover the lost ground. The beginning of the Greek trade at al Mina coincides with the beginning of the domination of Urartu. What was the effect of that domination in northern Syria?

It is only of recent years that linguistic research has established with some certainty the relationship of the language of Urartu to an earlier tongue, once spoken over a wide area of western Asia. A people called by the Hittites *Hurri*, by the Assyrians *Subaru*, extended, during the period from 2000 B.C. to 1200 B.C., from Kirkuk, east of Tigris, to Ugarit in the west. Their language probably had several local dialects, and everywhere it is found it is not an exclusive language, but was spoken in mixed communities side by side with one or the other Semitic language. The earliest specimens of the Khurrian language date from the early eighteenth century B.C., and come from the town of Ma'er, on the middle Euphrates. A letter written in the same language from the king of Mitanni, Dushratta, to the Pharaoh Amenhetep IV was found in the Amarna archive. A vocabulary of words from a slightly different dialect of the language, found by Schaeffer at Ras Shamra, apparently belongs to the time of Suppiluliuma, the Hittite king, after 1370 B.C. The language does not seem to have been spoken on the Mesopotamian plains after 1000 B.C. Whether a Khurrian dialect was spoken in Armenia in early times is unknown, for the documents of the second millennium tell us nothing about this area. But the language used in what were once called the Vannic inscriptions, and are now known as Urartian, is a recognizable, if distant, relative of Khurrian.<sup>1</sup> Many alternative explanations of this relationship are possible. For the present purpose, the important fact is that there was some relation between

<sup>1</sup> A. Götte, 'Kleinasien', in *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients*, Dritter Abschnitt, Erste Lieferung, pp. 179-80; E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian* (The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, vol. xx) p. 10.

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the people of Urartu and a substantial element in the population of the north Syrian towns, which had been submerged in the ninth century by the Aramaean influx. This suppressed element in Syria was closely associated with another northern element in the population, the hieroglyph-writing people driven out of central and southern Asia Minor when the Hittite Empire fell before the Phrygians. The language of the hieroglyphs seems to belong to the Indo-European family, but is not the same language as Hittite. The combination in north Syria of the two elements, the descendants of the *Hurri*, who no longer spoke their own tongue, and the writers of hieroglyphs, is due simply to geographical circumstances and to the political effects of the Aramaean conquests. The strength of these two elements in proportion to the total population differed in different cities. It was strongest in a northern city like Carchemish, weakest farther south in a city like Hamath. When Urartian supremacy over the cities of northern Syria was recognized, the two suppressed northern elements in the local population found an opportunity for a revival of their own civilization.

This is a cardinal fact in the history of the early part of the eighth century B.C., not to be found in the text-books, because the well established fact of the revival of the mixed elements called 'Hittite' at this time did not seem related to the struggle between Assyria and Urartu. The relation of the two is now obvious. The sculptures from northern Syria show some features in this revival. At Carchemish the sculptors employed the hieroglyphs, but their reliefs depict fantastic creatures which belong to the religious art of the *Hurri*, as it is known to us from seals of the fifteenth to thirteenth centuries. The revival in writing and art there lasted till the end of the seventh century. At Sam'al, the modern Sinçirli, a princely line began in the early eighth century with a king whose name, perhaps to be pronounced Kilamuwa, belongs apparently to an Asianic language. Later his successors invariably used Aramaic names, and the language employed for inscriptions even by Kilamuwa was Aramaic. But the reliefs which sometimes accompany the inscriptions are evidence of the influence of people not Aramaeans; they depict, for instance, furniture made by the metal-smiths of Van, as excavations at Toprak Qal'ah and elsewhere have proved.<sup>1</sup> This revived art and material civilization are Hittite only in the sense that they are north Syrian of the eighth and seventh centuries; they are not immediately derived from the Anatolian Hittites of the Hittite Empire which ceased to exist four hundred years earlier, but from the barbaric civilization of the tenth century which has left monuments at Tall Halaf, Sinçirli, and elsewhere. The revival even

<sup>1</sup> Thus the chair ornaments in the relief of Bar-Rekub, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iv, pl. lx, are unquestionably Urartian.



affected the southern valley of the Orontes, for hieroglyph inscriptions occur there, and fragments of basalt figures of lions in this style were found in the Danish excavations at Hamath.<sup>1</sup> The resurgence of the non-Semitic elements in the north Syrian cities during the period of Urartian domination cannot be accidental, but must be due to political conditions. Once begun, it went on.

The effect of the dominance of Urartu over the towns of the northern Orontes was to sever once again the ties between them and the Aramaean centres at Hamath and Damascus, which had been the rallying points for resistance against the Assyrians in the ninth century. Such leagues as were then formed against Shalmaneser III had been based on combinations of independent Aramaean kinglets; these were impossible when the Assyrian Tiglathpileser III, from 743 B.C. onwards, challenged and overthrew Urartian power in the west. The first attack fell on Bit-Agusi and the capital, Arpad. Only Urartu moved to assist its client state, and was utterly defeated. The south made no move to assist, though it had a common interest in beating the enemy off. This severance of interests must have existed before the Assyrian attack, when the north was under Urartian suzerainty. The political border meant, if not a cessation, at least a lessening of the traffic from north to south, more especially of that from the 'Amq plain to the principal Phoenician ports of the north, Arvad and Byblos. The gain that would await the opening up of sea-trade to a port within the Urartian sphere of influence just after 800 B.C., to serve northern Syria and the lands eastwards as far as Urartu, must have seemed worth great risks.

When these historical facts are considered, the discovery of direct connexions at al Mina with the Greek islands and with Corinth, beginning shortly after 800 B.C., has a special meaning. So far as archaeological evidence can prove the point, it must be considered proved that the connexions were direct. There is no sign whatever of purely Phoenician goods, or even of Phoenician influence, so that there is no need to assume that this Greek traffic to al Mina travelled in Phoenician bottoms or was in any way part of some general Mediterranean trade. There is no evidence on any of the Syrian or Palestinian sites where fragments of early Greek pottery have turned up, for instance at Hamath,<sup>2</sup> that the vases came with Phoenician trade goods; they are isolated from imports other than Cypriote,

<sup>1</sup> Harald Ingholt, *Rapport Préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie* (Det. kgl. danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Archaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser, xxx, 1), pp. 107-14. Professor Ingholt is inclined to date the pair of lions flanking a staircase, pp. 109-10, pl. xxxvi, no. 3, to the 10th century, with the lion from Sandiq and an example from Carchemish. I do not think the Hamath lions, or the other examples, so early.

<sup>2</sup> See Ingholt, *Rapport Préliminaire*, p. 98. The date suggested for these pieces by M. Friis Johansen in note 7, between 850 and 800, may be slightly too early.

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and probably came through al Mina. There was a close connexion between al Mina and Cyprus, but excavations in Cyprus give no reason to believe that the early Greek pottery at al Mina came from Cyprus. Finally, it is out of the question that these imports came through some intermediate station on the Cilician coast, or from some Greek colony on the southern coast of Asia Minor. Cilicia was at this time in the hands of the *Muški*, the Biblical Meshech, called Moschoi by the Greeks; the western coast of southern Asia Minor was held by the Phrygians. Excavations during the last twenty years in Asia Minor have sufficiently revealed the character of the material civilization of the Phrygians<sup>1</sup> and of the non-Phrygian population of eastern Cilicia to make it certain that there is no trace at al Mina of trade with any port on the Phrygian coast or in eastern Cilicia. Thus, to quote a specific example, the pottery of this period found in the recent excavations at Mersin<sup>2</sup> by Professor Garstang includes pots imported from the Greek islands and mainland, some of the sherds being similar to the examples found at al Mina; but there is no example at al Mina of any pottery which could only come from Mersin. This position would not be possible if any Greek colony in this area, such as Mallus, Tarsus, or Soloi, were the immediate source of the Greek wares at al Mina, and there is no reason to assume a coastal trade. Asia Minor is no longer an almost unknown quantity, a sort of archaeological lucky bag into which anything might be put, or from which anything might be expected to come, to suit a theory. It was divided up among small states which were jealous and rather exclusive, and though Greek trade was welcomed there as in Syria, there is no sign of trade between Cilicia and the Syrian coast.

The site at al Mina, not attractive to Syrians, may well have been chosen by settlers in the twelfth century, if it was really founded then, because it is accessible from the sea, and easily defended on the land side. To strangers with reason to fear attack from the south or the north, but assured of welcome and protection from those controlling the northern Orontes valley, the mouth of the river might seem a suitable, if unhealthy, site. That Sabuni and al Mina enjoyed the protection of Syrian princes is a safe inference from the existence of the towns, and from the evidence of a local Syrian population provided by the pottery. If, when Greek traders first came to the port,

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the material from Gordion and Alişar IV there is now the result of excavations at Pazarlı, see the preliminary report by Dr. Hamit Zübeyr Koşay in *Belleten III* (1939), pp. 5-25 and plates 1-xxxix, and also *La Turquie Kémaliste*, December, 1937, pp. 25-35. The evidence from Boğazköy, discussed by Bittel in K. Bittel und G. Güterbock, *Boğazköy*, pp. 52-8, is decisive in regard to dating.

<sup>2</sup> R. D. Barnett, 'The Greek Pottery', in 'Explorations in Cilicia: the Neilson Expedition Fifth Interim Report,' from *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, xvi, 98ff.



early in the eighth century, they found Cypriotes already established there, and survivors of an earlier settlement, as Woolley supposes, they would have the greater confidence in settling there themselves. But the primary reason for the choice of this port would still be that it lay in territory easily defensible against Phoenician attacks, where markets not open to the Phoenician traders could be tapped. So Greeks settled at the mouth of the river, at a port already in existence.

This conclusion may seem at first thought more than the evidence warrants. It may even be laughed at by those who expect documentary evidence for historical facts, and trust the word of man rather than deductions from his handiwork. Need such sherds as these prove anything more than trade? Why should they prove the existence of Greek settlers? These questions must not, however, be answered too hastily in the negative by the superficial sceptics. For a negative answer entails some good alternative hypothesis. These pots that were brought from Aegean islands and from Corinth, with the goods carried with them, were brought by sea. They were not brought by Phoenicians; the only other people conducting such sea traffic were the Greeks, so the pots were brought in Greek ships. Who used these painted pots, rather than the local pots? Greeks, not Syrians; for if this were some fashion that appealed to Syrians, the early Greek pottery would be widely spread in great quantity. These Greeks who required the Greek pottery were the traders who handled the traffic to the interior. It can be regarded as a general rule in the Near East that the presence of imports in the bazaar means that strangers have come with the wares. Trade leads to a migration of small bodies of people. The early eighth century was a time when Greek colonies were being founded in many quarters, so that there is nothing strange in a settlement of Greeks at al Mina. Woolley has remarked that even to-day, in the ports of the Levant, trade is in the hands of foreign settlers; he specifically quotes the case of Alexandretta. The sceptics will not be on sound ground when they doubt whether these sherds of pottery prove settlement.

Fortunately, in this case the deduction from archaeological evidence can be supported by the identification of al Mina, ingeniously, and almost certainly correctly, proposed by Sir Leonard Woolley, with the Poseideion mentioned by Herodotus as the northernmost place on the coast in the fifth satrapy of the Persian Empire when reorganized by Darius I.<sup>1</sup> This Poseideion had pre-

<sup>1</sup> For arguments about the northern border based on the assumption that Poseideion must lie south of Mount Kasios see O. Leuze, *Die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromlande von 520-320* (Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft, geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, Jahr 11, Heft 4), pp. 101-2, 113-17, 138-9, 316-17. There is no sound discussion of the location of Poseideion, and most of the arguments are invalidated by Woolley's identification.

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viously been identified with the harbour at Basit, south of Ras al Basit, for three reasons. The first was that there are late references to a Poseidion which must lie somewhere near Laodikea, and Basit satisfied the geographical condition. The second was that there is actually an ancient site at Basit. The third was the possibility that the name Basit might be derived from Poseidion. The last reason has no weight; the assonance is not an argument, and can only be accepted if the identification is proved beyond doubt. The second reason, the existence of an ancient port on the site, is of importance. Woolley states that the pottery on the surface is of the Roman period. The remains of a mole also point to Roman times. That argues against any identification with the Poseideion of Herodotus, which was sacked and destroyed by Ptolemy I in 312 B.C. But the argument that Basit is sufficiently near to Laodikea to fulfil the requirements of certain references in the late period is the prime ground for this identification. Dr. W. W. Tarn has pointed out to me that the Poseidion mentioned by Strabo cannot be al Mina, and also cannot be the Poseideion of Herodotus, for he says,<sup>1</sup> 'Near Laodikea are three tiny townships, πολίχνα, Poseidion, Herakleion, Gabala; then at once we reach the coast of the Aradians'. This can only mean that there was a Poseidion in the first century B.C. in the territory of Laodikea, and that excludes al Mina. And the place named by Herodotus could not be called "a tiny little town". It is, then, probable that Basit is the Poseidion of Strabo; and other late references may be to it. In that case it must be a Poseidion which was founded after the destruction of al Mina.

This conclusion of Dr. Tarn serves to explain a difficulty caused by the Gurob papyrus found by Sir Flinders Petrie.<sup>2</sup> This text deals with Ptolemy III's campaign against Laodike and Seleukus II. There is mention of an Egyptian fleet setting out from an unknown place, presumably Salamis in Cyprus, and sailing to Poseidion, which is reached in the eighth hour. It did not leave for Seleukia till the next morning. Holleaux in his edition of the text assumed that the purpose of the fleet was to attack Seleukia, which was in Laodike's hands; but Wilcken has made it practically certain that Seleukia was in Ptolemy's hands before the dispatch of the fleet. Now al Mina is only 6 or 7 km. from Seleukia by sea, and M. Seyrig has pointed out<sup>3</sup> that a fleet which arrived at al Mina in the eighth hour could easily have reached Seleukia that day without

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, 16, 753. To distinguish between the two different sites the spelling Poseidion has been artificially confined, in the present essay, to the later town and the Herodotean form maintained for the earlier.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Holleaux in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1906, pp. 330-48; and by Mitteis und Wilcken, *Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, i, no. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Syria*, xix, 312.



delay. This argument alone cannot be pressed to disprove Woolley's identification, for there may have been many explanations for the delay. Some important person was with the fleet, perhaps Ptolemy III himself, as some suggest, or Lysimachus, his brother, as Dr. Tarn believes, so a ceremonial entry into Seleukia may have been desirable and military precautions for it may have caused the delay. But the true difficulty in identifying the Poseidion in this account with al Mina is that al Mina did not exist, on the archaeological evidence, in 247 B.C., and cannot therefore be the Poseidion of the text. Woolley avoids this difficulty by assuming that, though the port of al Mina was destroyed by Ptolemy I in 312 B.C., Sabuni, still called Poseidion, continued to exist as a fortified post, and that the Egyptian fleet went three miles upstream to that place. His reason is that the papyrus calls Poseidion a *φρούριον*, 'guard-post'. This argument is really contrary to the assumption that Sabuni existed simply as a residential quarter for the port. There is nothing in the account of the stratification which justifies an assumption that Sabuni existed at a later date than al Mina. Finally, it seems improbable that the Egyptian fleet would sail three miles upstream to anchor, when so short a distance separated them from excellent anchorage at Seleukia. The true explanation must be that the Gurob papyrus is dealing with the Poseidion mentioned by Strabo, not the Poseideion of Herodotus. The *φρούριον* is the *πολίχιον* of Strabo, in the neighbourhood of Laodike.

The ruling argument in the identification of the Poseideion of Herodotus with al Mina must be the historical one. Poseideion was recognized as a true Greek colony, founded by Amphilochos, son of Amphiaraos of Argos, according to Herodotus, on the return from Troy. That would put the foundation of the port after 1200 B.C., and associate it in time with the foundation of the colonies in Cyprus. That corresponds very well with Sir Leonard Woolley's hypothesis that the port at al Mina must be as early as the residential quarter at Sabuni. Ptolemy I destroyed a Poseidion in 312 B.C.; that is about the date to which the pottery and coins point as the time when al Mina ceased to exist. There is no evidence to associate Basit with this Poseidion, and it is most improbable that Basit was the northernmost port of the fifth Persian satrapy. There is, then, excellent reason for accepting Sir Leonard Woolley's identification of al Mina as the Poseideion of Herodotus, the Poseidion destroyed by Ptolemy I, if we sharply distinguish this from the later Poseidion mentioned by Strabo.

The tradition recorded by Herodotus is of importance in considering the answer to a difficult question. Whence did the Greek settlers come? Since the early Greek pottery found is from several different centres, Corinth, Rhodes, probably Chios, and other

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islands, it seems natural to assume that the settlers would be of mixed origin, but this is not a necessary inference. Mr. Martin Robertson has stated the case succinctly. 'We have no idea', he says, 'whether the presence of the products of any centre imply a direct contact of that centre with al Mina'. The tradition that the founder of al Mina came from Argos proves that, in the fifth century, there seemed to be good reason in the history of the place for associating Poseideion with Argos. Since Proto-Corinthian pottery was found by Woolley, the earliest example dating from about 750 B.C., the connexion between Argos and al Mina must be through Corinth. The association of Corinth with Argos about the beginning of the eighth century is well known. The basis of the tradition may be that in the eighth century, when the settlers came to al Mina, they were led by a man from Argos, and that this settlement was confused in the tradition with the original foundation. The islands may have been the intermediate ports of the trade, but Corinth was in fact the other base, in the west,<sup>1</sup> as al Mina was in the east. This may prove of importance for solving an archaeological problem.

The suzerainty of Urartu in northern Syria may have favoured the settlement of Greeks at Poseideion, but it did not continue after 740 B.C. From 743 onwards Tiglathpileser III of Assyria undertook the reduction of Syria; by 740 the task was accomplished. The power of Sarduris of Urartu was finally broken when he attempted to relieve Arpad, and in consequence the cities of the northern Orontes were forced to acknowledge the Assyrian overlord. But there is no sign in the archaeological evidence that this change affected the course of life in the port of al Mina. There was no reason why it should. The Greek trade was not a menace to the Assyrians. The revival of the northern elements of the population in the north Syrian cities was not affected, and even derived new strength from Assyrian influence. So life went on without interruption at al Mina; trade continued to prosper and the route eastwards remained open, while the sea traffic was free from Phoenician interference.

That does not mean that the Greek settlers took no part in the political events of the time. An incident in Sargon's reign illustrates the activities of an individual Greek. In 720, on Sargon's

<sup>1</sup> Saul S. Weinberg, 'What is Proto-Corinthian Geometric Ware?', in *American Journal of Archaeology*, xlv, pp. 30-44, argues, apparently correctly, that only one group of the ware previously called Proto-Corinthian was made at Corinth; the other group, to which most if not all of the examples from al Mina belong, cannot possibly, on the evidence produced by excavations, come from Corinth but may possibly have been made at Aegina. That thesis will require a modification, but not a radical alteration, in the argument stated above.



accession, a remarkable coalition was formed against the Assyrians, almost certainly at Egyptian instigation. Ilu-iau-bi'di of Hamath secured the support not only of Damascus and other cities in the south, but also of Simyra, the port from which he probably hoped to receive Egyptian support, and of distant Gaza, the city through which forces coming from Egypt by land would march. Arpad, still the most important city of the 'Amq plain, joined this coalition, and it is a certain inference that all the subordinate cities of the northern Orontes valley were involved. The people at al Mina cannot have remained indifferent; a contingent would be expected by the overlord at Arpad. Sargon acted quickly, defeated the rebels in the north before they could be reinforced, marched to Gaza, and defeated a force sent by the Egyptians. The Philistine town fell soon after. Some of the rebel forces from the north must have fled south to Gaza, and then taken refuge in the other great Philistine city, Ashdod. Years passed, and then the Egyptians inspired another revolt. Azuri, king of Ashdod, withheld his tribute and attempted to rouse his neighbours. He failed and Sargon deposed him, putting his brother in his place. This appointment was unpopular, and a man called Yamani was made king by the rebel party. Now Yamani means simply 'the Ionian', the generic name for a Greek in Asia, and the presence of this Greek in Ashdod, in the position of usurping king, has always constituted an historical puzzle. The explanation generally accepted has been that he was a Cypriote, but it has never been explained how a Cypriote could have attained the position of king. But if Yamani came from al Mina, and fought with the troops of Arpad in 720 as a military leader, and then fled, first to Gaza and then to Ashdod, the rebels may have chosen him to lead the revolt as one of themselves, Syrian born, the best captain available. Perhaps, too, the appointment of a Greek was thought likely to secure Egyptian approval, for Greek mercenaries were already being employed in Egypt. In this way, perhaps, a Greek came to lead the rebellion which finally broke out in 712 B.C.

Yamani did not come out of the affair very well. Sargon as usual struck before the rebels were prepared, and there was no assistance from Egypt. The Ionian fled for refuge to the Delta, and then sought safety, according to Assyrian accounts, by proceeding as far south as the borders of Nubia. But Shabaka, the Nubian, gave the refugee up to Sargon, and the two great monarchs exchanged courtesies that afterwards enabled each to claim suzerainty over the other. The incident was over; it is, perhaps, rendered more explicable by the discoveries at al Mina.

There are archaeological problems that belong to the late eighth and early seventh centuries which must also be considered in

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the light of the new knowledge. It has long been admitted by classical archaeologists that Greece was influenced, during the Orientalizing period, in the eighth century, by different arts of different lands in western Asia. Four strands may be distinguished in the thread. One is unquestionably Phoenician, the composite style which began to be developed in the eighteenth century B.C., and continually absorbed new themes from other arts, without any striking change in style, till the fifth century. A second may be found in the ivory carving of central Syria, which produced its best work in the ninth century. The third is the sculpture of the north Syrian cities produced during the revival already mentioned. But the fourth consists of the metal-work of Urtu, and the course of this influence is the most difficult to explain. The problem for the Orientalist is to understand how the influence of these different arts came to the Greek mainland. Classical archaeologists have naturally been more concerned to illustrate the facts than to differentiate between the courses of the different influences. Thus fifteen years ago Professor Beazley said:<sup>1</sup>

Products of Hittite and Syrian art, and of the mixed art created out of Syrian, Mesopotamian and Egyptian elements by the Phoenicians, reached the Greeks of Asia Minor both overland and by sea and penetrated further west.

This view, which crystallized the idea that Ionia was the centre of Orientalizing influences, always presented a great difficulty, for there has never been any proof nor any probability that all the different arts concerned ever influenced any one place in Asia Minor. Different places there show different influences, but the arts remain distinct. Fortunately, the problem ceased to exist when the late Humfry Payne showed that Ionia was not the only channel for knowledge of the East in Greece. There were, he said, three different forces in the early archaic period of Greek art: (1) eastern Greece, that is Miletus, Samos, Ephesus, and Rhodes; (2) Crete; (3) Corinth and Sicyon.<sup>2</sup> All those centres could not be approached from western Asia by the same route. The question as to the way in which different Oriental influences affected Greek art is most likely to be solved satisfactorily if each of the strands described is followed separately.

The first strand, the Phoenician, needs no discussion. It is distinctive, easily recognizable, and has been adequately studied, especially by Payne,<sup>3</sup> who showed that it came through Cyprus to Crete, and reached the mainland later. The influence was exerted

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Ancient History*, iv, 583.

<sup>2</sup> H. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Preface.

<sup>3</sup> H. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 53; *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxix, 281-2.



by Phoenician trade, carried, probably, by Phoenician ships. It nowhere appears interwoven with the other strands, but is a distinguishable element until all the influences unite in the exotic art of the Orientalizing period.

The second strand, the influence of central Syrian ivory carving, can be detected in the ivories of Ephesus, where a style developed which became an influence in archaic Greek art. This subject also needs no prolonged discussion.

The third strand, the influence of the sculpture of the north Syrian cities, can also be found in Asia Minor, but not at Ephesus. It is to be seen, as Mr. A. W. Lawrence has remarked,<sup>1</sup> in reliefs from Lycian tombs. The relief from Xanthus or that from the tomb at Isinda must have been carved by Greeks, but the sculptors had adopted the technique of stone-carvers at Carchemish, and a theme from Oriental religious art. But the art had not, in this case, travelled far before becoming Greek. And there is no sign of the other strands in the Lycian tombs. Syrian sculptures influenced the Greek mainland by another route, however. A single instance must be taken as an illustration. The lid of an aryballos of Proto-Corinthian style is in the form of a lion's head. The convention for the mane, meant to represent twisted tufts of hair, only becomes intelligible when the plastic modelling of a basalt lion found by Professor Ingholt at Hamath is compared.<sup>2</sup> This similarity, be it noted, is a matter of detail, namely of the origin of a convention for line drawing. This kind of influence does not require more than the assumption that an individual Greek who had seen such sculpture as that from Hamath invented the line convention. The aryballos dates from about 650 B.C. The sculpture may be eighth century or earlier. This strand remains puzzling, but the existence of a Greek settlement at al Mina may account for the adaptation of such conventions for the decoration of pottery.

The fourth and last strand, the influence of metal-work from Urartu, is a question sharply differentiated from the influence of Phoenician or Syrian metal-work. Phoenician metal-work, best known to us from the bronze bowls with concentric rows of figures in *repoussé*, was itself much influenced by the smiths of Urartu, but became assimilated to the regular mixed style. Its influence in Crete may be seen in two vessels in Egyptizing style from the Idaean cave. This is easily distinguishable from Urartian work. There is also some connexion between the shield in the shape of the figure 8 and the crested helmet used in Syria and similar Greek types, but these again are not Urartian.

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Sculpture*, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 1, no. 7, pp. 67-70; Ingholt, *Rapport Préliminaire*, pl. xxxvii, no. 3 and pp. 111-12.

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There are three different types of Urartian bronzes which seem to be directly connected with bronzes in Crete, southern Italy, and Greece. The first consists of the votive shields from Van, of the seventh century, and some shields from Crete, excluding the objects from the Idaean cave already mentioned. It has been usual to see the influence of Phoenician art in these shields; but Georg Karo<sup>1</sup> rightly drew attention to the decorative arrangement, for instance, of the shield from the temple of the Dictaeon Zeus. It will be noted that the animals, fantastic creatures belonging to the repertory derived apparently from Khurrian religion, face one another in two pairs of two, so that all are upright when seen from the front. This scheme is found in a more elaborate form on Urartian shields of the seventh century. There are more animals, this time lions, on these, but the antithetic arrangement and the division into quarters is typical.<sup>2</sup> There seems to be reason for supposing that this similarity of design, as opposed to the much less formal design on the objects from the Idaean cave, is due to some connexion, and it is probable that this connexion is much earlier than the extant objects, so that it may go back to the eighth century. Simple transference of an isolated object might account for the borrowing on either side. The trade route from Armenia to Crete must have passed through al Mina. Karo, not knowing of the existence of this route, thought<sup>1</sup> of traffic through the Greek colonies on the Pontic coast of the Black Sea, or through Lydia. That was an explanation of *ignotum per ignotius*; nothing found at Sardis or in Pontus justifies such an assumption.

The second type of bronzes consists of bronze handle-attachments for buckets, probably used in ritual, which take the form of birds with human busts and heads, wings and tail outstretched along the vessel's edge; on the back was a ring for suspension, which is sometimes lost.<sup>3</sup> All the examples of this type found in western Asia, whether in Assyria or elsewhere, are certainly from Urartu, where there was a metal industry which supplied a large area.<sup>4</sup> Examples of exactly the same type, but of pure Greek workmanship, have been found in Rhodes, Delphi, Olympia, and other sites on the Greek mainland, in Etruria and elsewhere in southern Italy. It is of some importance for the present purpose to note that a classical archaeologist, Ipsen, after cataloguing all the known instances, concluded that the centre of distribution in Greece was Corinth, and that the examples of Greek workmanship are prob-

<sup>1</sup> G. Karo, *Orient und Hellas in archaischer Zeit* (Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, xxxv, 1920), pp. 144-5.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, ii, 2, p. 500.

<sup>3</sup> A good example of a complete specimen is B.M. no. 22494.

<sup>4</sup> E. Herzfeld, 'Khattische und khaldische Bronzen', in *Janus*, Heft 1, pp. 145-57.



ably of Corinthian origin.<sup>1</sup> The extant examples of this type may not be, in Asia or Greece, earlier than the seventh century; but, unless we are to believe that this peculiar kind of handle-attachment evolved independently in Urartu and Greece, we shall have to admit that the time when this type travelled from the east was much earlier, in the second half of the eighth century at latest. The chain of connexion cannot be completely traced, but parts are obvious. There is the evidence of distribution from Urartu to Carchemish on the Asiatic side. In the Mediterranean there is a distribution from Rhodes to Corinth, thence to places on the mainland, and to Italy. The connecting link between Carchemish and Rhodes must surely be al Mina, the port with Greek settlers, exclusively used for communications between the north Syrian cities and the Aegean. Since there is no sign of Phoenician influence in these bronzes, and no Phoenician trade goods occur with them, this direct connexion through al Mina fulfils all the required conditions.

The third and last type to be considered is a tripod stand with animal claws or hooves for feet and figures forming part of the supporting stem. The best example, that in the Erlangen Museum, though not found in excavations, is certainly from Van, as similar pieces actually found there show.<sup>2</sup> The workmanship is clumsy, but the design, not found in any other Oriental bronzes, is sufficiently similar to examples of purely Greek workmanship, ranging in date from the sixth to the fourth century, found in Etruscan tombs, for some early connexion to be posited. These are trade goods, made by smiths who handed on their craft, and very often their moulds, in families and guild groups. The archaeological evidence is scanty, and widely distributed in place and time. Without the more closely knit evidence provided by the bucket-handles, the problem would seem insoluble. But there is at least a probability that future research may provide the missing links in the chain.

There is no final and absolute proof that the discovery of direct Greek trade to northern Syria through al Mina clears up the problem of this fourth strand in the thread of Oriental influences on Greek art in the eighth century. More evidence might have been hoped for from al Mina itself, but the place was so continuously inhabited that very few scraps of metal remain at all. All that can be claimed is that there is now a new possibility, attractive because it avoids some of the improbabilities in solutions of the problem previously proposed. The possibility is therefore worth future exploration.

<sup>1</sup> Ipsen in Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, ii, 2, pp. 492-3.

<sup>2</sup> L. Curtius, *Assyrischer Dreifuss in Erlangen*; see Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, ii, 2, p. 521.



The port at al Mina continued to flourish throughout the seventh century, while the northern Orontes valley remained in complete subjection to Assyria. The proportion of pottery from Corinth increased, but the type called for convenience 'Rhodian' remains predominant. The Assyrians were content, apparently, to profit from the revenues, and made no attempt to interfere directly at al Mina. That is true of the Assyrian attitude to the Phoenician ports also. Though in this period Tyre, Sidon, and the other great Phoenician cities were all tributaries, no immediate Assyrian rule was imposed upon them, and trouble only arose when a city refused tribute, generally at Egyptian instigation. This is important because the end of Assyrian rule brought a change which accounts for an otherwise inexplicable feature in the finds at al Mina.

The last of the early Greek pottery of sub-geometric style is found in level V. Of this Mr. Martin Robertson says that it may not be later than 600 B.C., and cannot be later than about 570 B.C. Now the earliest fragments of datable Attic pottery in level IV cannot, according to Professor Beazley,<sup>1</sup> be earlier than 520 B.C., and trade did not begin to flourish until after 500, reaching its highest point between 450 and 425. There is, therefore, in Mr. Robertson's opinion, a gap of at least fifty, and possibly eighty years for which there is no evidence in the material remains, and the beginning again was slow. This is a much greater gap than Sir Leonard Woolley originally estimated, for he thought that level V ended about 550 B.C., and therefore spoke of a gap of thirty years. This gap he regarded as accidental, since he believed the site was continuously inhabited. At Sabuni he found a few fragments which he describes as 'good early black-figured Attic ware', of a kind not found at al Mina. Woolley argued that, since the pottery at Sabuni must have come from al Mina, this black-figured ware provides sound reason to believe that the port continued to exist, though there is a gap in the material. This seems an unlikely conclusion. It might be granted that a gap of thirty years in the finds of imported pottery could be accidental, though even that must be regarded as strange when the proof that trade only recovered slowly is considered. But the explanation of a gap of fifty years on these lines must be called improbable, of a gap of more than that impossible. The presence of black-figured ware at Sabuni is not a sound argument for the assumption of continuous inhabitation at al Mina, because the distribution and dating of black-figured ware in Syria and Palestine could be explained otherwise, and only a special study of the ware so found could justify conclusions. Sir Leonard Woolley has himself pointed out that this ware appears at Deve Huyuk, on the western road to Carchemish. The expedition

<sup>1</sup> *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, lix, 1-44.



of the Oriental Institute of Chicago found the same type at sites in the 'Amq plain, which they describe as 'late', and similar sherds have turned up at Neirab. The Museum at Jerusalem contains examples from Gezer and elsewhere, and any sixth-century site in Palestine may provide an odd example or two; sherds have even turned up at Tall al Khalaifah, perhaps the ancient Ezion Geber,<sup>1</sup> near the Gulf of 'Aqaba.<sup>2</sup> Many explanations must be admitted to be possible. Black-figured ware was manufactured in the Greek colonies of Asia Minor and may have come thence. Or, if the site in the region of Antaradus recently reported by Dr. Emil Forrer belongs in fact to the sixth century, that may be a centre of distribution.<sup>3</sup> The possibility which seems excluded by the evidence of the remains at al Mina is that any direct trade between al Mina and the Greek mainland existed from about 570 to 520 B.C.

There is evidence to prove that there was a gap between level V and level IV in Woolley's account of the buildings in the excavated area, of which he says:

That there was a clean sweep is certain. Level IV is laid out in *insulae* which do not correspond to the building-plots of level V, and the buildings themselves are independent of their predecessors. Occasionally an old wall seems to have been left standing high enough to invite re-use in level IV, but generally below the floors of level IV there is rubbish separating them from the stumps of the level V walls, and this implies a regular process of demolition.<sup>4</sup>

This account of the end of level V is consonant with, and indeed accounts for, the gap in the pottery evidence. Proof of the demolition of the buildings of level V leads naturally to the conclusion that the end of this period was marked by destruction of the town and probably by temporary desertion of the site. There is of course no proof that parts of the site which have disappeared owing to changes in the course of the river would show the same state of things, but it is unlikely that the excavated area is completely accidental in this respect. There is no obvious reason why this particular area should be deserted while some other was inhabited. The

<sup>1</sup> On this identification see N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, and A. Bea in *Biblica*, XXI, 1940, pp. 429-45.

<sup>2</sup> For references see C. W. McEwan in *American Journal of Archaeology*, lxi, 10; J. H. Iliffe, 'Pre-Hellenistic Greek pottery in Palestine', in *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, ii, 15-26, and for typical specimens see also C. N. Johns, 'Excavations at Atlit', in the same volume, p. 73; Nelson Glueck in the same *Quarterly*, ix, 215-16. Four fragments of b.f. and two of r.f., of the late sixth and fifth centuries, were found at Tall an Nasbah, see Dietrich von Bothmer's report in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 83 (1940), pp. 25-30.

<sup>3</sup> E. Forrer, 'Eine unbekannte griechische Kolonie des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Phönicien', in *Bericht über den VI. internationalen Kongress für Archäologie, Berlin, 21-26 August, 1939*, pp. 360-5, Tafel 54-5.

<sup>4</sup> *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, lviii, 21.



question should rather be, are there historical events which would account for the destruction and desertion of al Mina at some date between 600 and 570, and for a reoccupation about 520? If there is an historical explanation of the gap, then there can be no doubt that the evidence for a gap is not accidental.

Now the period 600-570 B.C. covers the years during which Nebuchadrezzar II established the Babylonian Empire on the coast of the Mediterranean. After the occupation of Harran in 610 and the defeat of the last remnant of the Assyrian forces and the Egyptian army sent to their aid in a battle near Carchemish in 605 B.C., the cities on the Quwaiq and Orontes must have been reduced by 600. In 597 Nebuchadrezzar reached Jerusalem. The terms he imposed there, as elsewhere, were so harsh that the puppet he had himself installed, Zedekiah, rebelled and was taken prisoner in 587. In 585 the siege of Tyre began; the Phoenicians there, aware from other examples of what would happen to them, resisted till 572, helped by the natural strength of their position.<sup>1</sup> By 570 Nebuchadrezzar had instituted a purely Babylonian administration in the city, though there was still a king of Tyre.<sup>2</sup> In the inscription which gives this information mention is made of the kings of Gaza, Sidon, Arvad, Ashdod, and two other towns; these also must have been reduced to the same state as Tyre, and the same sort of administration introduced, before 570, probably several years before. A tablet dated in the year 564, written at Tyre, deals with a purchase of cattle there by the Aramaean district governor of Qadesh, in the Orontes valley; this shows that north Syrian traffic went to the Phoenician ports. It is quite certain, from this evidence, that the treatment of the coast cities by Nebuchadrezzar differed very considerably from that accorded them by the Assyrians. The Babylonian found it necessary to exercise a much stricter control; that was due largely to the difference in the situation of his empire, caused by the Median confederation, his eastern and northern neighbour. The possibilities for trading were limited.<sup>3</sup> The Baby-

<sup>1</sup> Wallace B. Fleming, *The History of Tyre* (Columbia University Oriental Studies, x, 1925, p. 44).

<sup>2</sup> E. Unger in *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung*, l, 1925, pp. 481 ff.

<sup>3</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, i, 79, says of the time after the fall of Assyria: '... the great caravan trade, which was another creation of Babylonia and which connected Lower Mesopotamia with Iran, India (and perhaps China) and Arabia on the one hand and with the Pontic and Mediterranean regions on the other ... was as old as Babylonian civilization ... the great caravan roads of the Tigris and Euphrates with their branches in the East, in the South (south Arabia) in the North (the Black Sea coast with its wealth of metals) and in the West (the Phoenician and Anatolian coasts) remained in Persian times as important as they had previously been.' This is not true. Only in the Persian period were all these routes open at the same time. There was no connexion between Babylonia and China in historical times; that with India existed only in the time of the Agade dynasty and of



lonian ports on the Persian Gulf had been silted up, and the new ports were not in Babylonian hands. The desert prohibited trade to the west, if the central oases were unfriendly. The road to Cilicia was open, but trade was restricted. To the south of Palestine Egypt kept a jealous hold on the routes from the Red Sea, a hold which Nebuchadrezzar attempted to break in his war against Amasis in 568. The sea-coast, provided it was carefully controlled, was the one border of the Babylonian Empire where trade could help to supply the growing needs of extensive territories and a large population. The sea-coast therefore received, between 585 and 570, an attention no Assyrian king, provided tribute was regularly paid, had thought requisite.

The explanation of the destruction of level V at al Mina and the cessation of the import of Greek pottery must somehow be connected with this establishment of the Babylonian Empire on the coast. Why it was considered undesirable for the Greek settlement and the Cypriote colony there to continue, there is no means of knowing, though various theories may be suggested. It may be, for instance, since Nebuchadrezzar must have relied on the fleets of the Phoenician cities, that the jealousy of Arvad, Tyre, and Sidon dictated this treatment of the foreign settlement. Whatever the cause, there is no reason to doubt the fact; the gap in history at Poseideion is due to Nebuchadrezzar. As to the date, it may be presumed that the northern coast had been dealt with before Nebuchadrezzar turned to Tyre and Sidon, that is before 585. Or the siege of Tyre may have been in progress but not yet completed. The port at al Mina, and possibly Sabuni too, were probably deserted before 580 B.C.

The end of the gap, about 520 B.C., must be connected with the organization of the Persian satrapies by Darius I. During the twenty odd years before that date neither Cyrus nor Cambyzes had produced a settled government of the provinces in the west. Darius did so, very successfully, for Syria practically drops out of history, always a mark of peaceful prosperity. On the reasons for the resettlement at al Mina and the method by which it was effected we have no information. It obviously took place before the great westward expansion which brought the Persians into direct political conflict with the states of mainland

Nebuchadrezzar II. There is no proof of any old Babylonian trade with southern Arabia, but only with the central oases, and not even of that before the eighth century; there is no evidence for trade with Pontus at all, and, in Anatolia, only with Cappadocia. There may have been a direct trade route across the desert from Babylonia to Arabia in the Parthian period, see Neilson C. Debevoise, 'The Origin of Decorative Stucco', in *American Journal of Archaeology*, xlv, p. 56, but not earlier. Even as regards the Mediterranean Rostovtzeff's statement is an exaggeration. The trade as he describes it was a creation of the Achaemenid Empire.

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Greece. It may be that the resettlement was undertaken as a conscious reaction from the Babylonian policy, which may have been thought to favour an undesirable tendency. For it may be noted that the late-sixth-century coin hoard from Ras Shamra shows that the trade connexion there was with Thrace and Macedonia, not Attica, and this seems to be true of the sixth-century settlement at Atlit. Now M. Schaeffer has pointed out that the decline of the Greek port at Ras Shamra, Leukos Limen, and therefore of this trade with Macedonia, must be coincident with the reorganization of the empire by Darius I.<sup>1</sup> It looks as if the great king discouraged trade with Thrace at the time of the western expansion of his empire. There is some reason, then, for believing that the new settlement at Poseideion was a result of the same political and economic policy as determined the fate of Leukos Limen. But in any case it was sound administration, from the Persian point of view, to have a port as far north as possible, and Poseideion at the mouth of the Orontes retained a strategic value till its destruction. But the deliberate fostering of trade with Greece by the great king is now attested by one of his own inscriptions, and this probably supplies the real reason why a settlement from Attica was favoured by the Persian government about 520.

The inscription, of which the Old Persian version is on a clay tablet, while the Babylonian and Elamite versions are on stone fragments, was found in the excavations of the French Mission under de Mecquenem at Susa; it has been published by Père Scheil.<sup>2</sup> In it the Persian king speaks of importing materials for the building of the palace from many different lands, cedars from Lebanon, mulberry from Gandhara and Kirman, gold from Sardis and Bactria, lapis lazuli and cinnabar from Soghdiana, iron pyrites from Chwazm, silver and perhaps lead from Egypt, ivory from Nubia, Sind, and Arachosia. From the land of the Ionians there was brought, the inscription states, 'what is appointed (or requisite) for the *usirtum* of the palace'. Unfortunately the Old Persian text is slightly broken, and it has been differently restored. The Babylonian text is complete, but the meaning of the word *usirtum* is not certain.<sup>3</sup> By far the most probable interpretation is that it means 'reliefs', and the reliefs of the palace at Susa, found by Dieulafoy, were brick reliefs. This brick technique, a complicated affair, was Babylonian in origin, and Darius expressly says that Babylonians made the bricks. But anyone who has compared the archer frieze from Susa with the reliefs from

<sup>1</sup> See *Mélanges syriens*, i, 475.

<sup>2</sup> V. Scheil, 'Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse', in *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, tome xxi.

<sup>3</sup> For the latest discussion of the whole question, see E. Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 18, 121 ff., 88 ff., whose conclusions I am not able to accept.



the Ishtar Gate at Babylon will admit that the colours of the archer frieze show a different range, and probably a different way of mixing the colour, from the Babylonian. It seems probable that what was appointed, or requisite for, the reliefs was something to do with the paints used. Since the inscription does not use the Babylonian word for paint, it may be that what was imported from Attica was some special medium for mixing paints, an oil. The Athenians had made discoveries about paints, as can be seen from the development of their own technique at the end of the seventh and during the sixth century,<sup>1</sup> and there seems to be evidence at al Mina, as in every port to which trade goods went from Attica, that a staple import was oil.<sup>2</sup> This mention of direct import from the land of the Ionians may then refer to the import of oil or some other medium for mixing paints from Attica. If this is correct, it is far more probable that the material came to Susa through al Mina and down the Euphrates than by a land route from Ionia.

That the trade at al Mina after 520 was directly with Attica is an inevitable conclusion from the material remains. For the early years after the resettlement the only evidence is the red-figured Attic ware. But this is later reinforced by the coin finds. The small coins are for the greater part Phoenician, mainly from Aradus; they are the currency of retail trade in the port. But the large coins are almost exclusively Athenian tetradrachms, or imitations of them which Mr. E. S. G. Robinson<sup>3</sup> thinks were made locally, after 394 B.C.; these represent the means of exchange for wholesale business. The need for imitations could only be felt by the Greek settlers, for the local people obviously used the small change, and the Persian administration would require Persian money. The direct intercourse between al Mina and Attica, and the way the traders excluded Phoenician interference, could not be more clearly illustrated.

It may be fairly claimed that the historical background explains the resettlement of al Mina about 520 as it explains the earlier destruction of the port. But the continuance of prosperous trade with Athens during the fifth century adds something to our knowledge of history. Sir Leonard Woolley has rightly pointed out that the continuity of this trade is a curious sidelight on ancient wars and political struggles. It is also a sidelight on the nature of the Persian Empire in the Achaemenid period. That empire was not a closely knit organization. Even when Darius or Xerxes raised armies from all the satrapies to march against Greece, individual satrapies other

<sup>1</sup> M. Farnsworth, and S. E.Q. Ashley, 'The Technology of Black Attic Glaze' in *American Journal of Archaeology*, xlv, p. 92, say that mineral magnetite was used.

<sup>2</sup> See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, lviii, 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fifth Series, xvii, 187-9.



than those of Asia Minor can have been little affected, and probably regarded the war as no affair of theirs. Individual satraps would still conduct their own business with foreign lands without interruption. Individual towns still pursued their own interests. The little port at al Mina, devoted exclusively to the Greek trade, maintained that trade without interference. That is characteristic of the Persian Empire. Professor Rostovtzeff has recently written of the Achaemenid 'policy of decentralization',<sup>1</sup> but the phrase is hardly apt, for there was no prior centralization. There was, in fact, a kind of freedom. In the absence of real evidence about the constitution of Achaemenid Persia, preconceptions based on the vague, hostile descriptions in contemporary Greek authors are prevalent; all Persian subjects are thought of as slaves. Yet it is known that there was, at any rate till the time of Artaxerxes III Ochus, a large measure of individual religious freedom. The continuance of trade with Athens at al Mina is evidence that each satrapy, and isolated towns in a satrapy, enjoyed considerable economic independence. The same is true of the settlement discovered by Capitaine de la Bassetière four miles south of the river Eleutheros, the modern Nahr al Kabir, which also traded with Attica during the fifth century.<sup>2</sup> Such independence is not the political liberty that all true Greeks desired, but it is a form, a valuable form, of liberty.

But even that liberty disappeared under Macedonian rule. When al Mina was destroyed by Ptolemy I, it was not restored by Seleucus or any of his successors. The new foundation at Basit may have taken the old name intentionally, to preserve an old association; but there was no longer a close connexion with Attica. The Seleucids, like the Ptolemies, believed in strict control, a planned economy. There was no longer room for Poseideion. Seleucia and Antioch were the products of a new world; a new Poseidion had no economic liberty.

There is much left to be explained about the history of al Mina. There is, for instance, the extensive fire which destroyed many houses in level III. Professor Rostovtzeff believes that there was a nationalist revival of the Persian Empire in the time of Artaxerxes III Ochus, and that the balance of Greek trade with the East shifted considerably, not in favour of Greece. 'Al Mina', he says, 'destroyed by fire about 375 B.C. appears to have become independent of Athens in the subsequent period of its existence. It issued its own currency. A more careful study of the imported pottery of the second level, especially the black-glazed pottery, may show how much of it still came from Athens. It was not till the time of Alexander that the

<sup>1</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, i, 83.  
<sup>2</sup> *Syria*, vii, 193 ff.



city became again an important centre of international trade.<sup>1</sup> And again he says of the time of Alexander, 'The most notable example of a revived semi-Greek emporium of the past is the harbour of al Mina.'<sup>2</sup> This statement outruns the evidence, so far as it has been presented up to now, for there is nothing in Sir Leonard Woolley's reports to prove a break in the trade with Athens, and a revival in the time of Alexander. Yet Rostovtzeff's view that the fire which ended level III about 375 B.C. was due to Persian fanaticism may be correct, for there are signs in Babylonia of similar destruction; but the main cause was not nationalism but religious feeling. Whatever the truth may be, there is still much to discuss, errors to be corrected, and additions to be made, in this *ballon d'essai*. I hope it may prove a good target.

<sup>1</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, i, 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.



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## *Two Fourteenth-Century Gauntlets From Ripon Cathedral*

By JAMES G. MANN, F.S.A.

THE two gauntlets which were exhibited to the Society by kind permission of the Archdeacon of Richmond, on 26th November 1941, form part of the funeral achievement of Sir Edward Blackett (died 1718), hanging above his monument in the north transept of Ripon Cathedral. The achievement consists of a close-helmet of the sixteenth century with a wooden funeral crest of a falcon (for Blackett); a tabard; a cruciform sword in its scabbard, of the heraldic pattern of the early eighteenth century; and two iron gauntlets. The wooden escutcheon and pair of spurs which must once have completed the group are now missing.

There is nothing at first sight to distinguish these insignia from many others hung up in Stuart or early Hanoverian times. But last March the discerning eyes of Messrs. D. and R. Gilyard-Beer noticed that the gauntlets were of a very rare and early pattern, and wrote to the Dean and Chapter to draw their attention to this fact and to suggest that they should receive special care. The Archdeacon of Richmond, The Ven. Donald Bartlett, thereupon sent the gauntlets to me at Hertford House for examination and any treatment necessary for their preservation.

Messrs. Gilyard-Beer's original diagnosis was fully confirmed. They are the more to be congratulated on their percipience, as only one pair of gauntlets of this date of English provenance was hitherto known to be in existence, namely the gauntlets hanging over the tomb of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral. Their condition is very fragile, and after consulting Dr. Plenderleith of the Scientific Laboratory of the British Museum, treatment was confined to washing them in Three-in-one oil, the dressings being repeated until they were absorbed. Two wooden hands have been fashioned to give interior support, and several finger-plates which had become detached have been lightly fixed to this wooden basis in their relative positions (fig. 1 and pl. VIII).

The total number of surviving gauntlets of this date is very small. Besides the latten gauntlets of the Black Prince already mentioned, examples in this country are confined to a pair of Continental provenance in the Wallace Collection, and two separate fragments, one in the Tower of London and the other in the British Museum. Secondly, they are important because of the period to which they belong. In the fourteenth century armour of mail was gradually being superseded by armour of plate, and plate gauntlets of the fourteenth



century occupy an important place in the evolution of defensive armour. As I have given a list elsewhere<sup>1</sup> of examples surviving inside and outside this country, I need not repeat it here, beyond saying



FIG. 1. The Ripon gauntlets

that apart from the fragments of some twenty gauntlets excavated on the battle-field of Wisby in Gotland<sup>2</sup> the sum total amounts to twenty-two, comprising six pairs and sixteen single specimens.

The plate gauntlet, which superseded the mail mitten, first took the form of a number of small plates riveted to a canvas or leather foundation. This type is seen on several English effigies of the

<sup>1</sup> *The Connoisseur*, c (1941), 69-73.

<sup>2</sup> B. Thordeman, *Armour from the Battlefield of Wisby*, Stockholm, 1939.





The two gauntlets of the late fourteenth century among the funeral achievement of Sir Edward Blackett, d. 1718, in Ripon Cathedral





*a.* Detail of the gauntlets of the effigy of the Black Prince, d. 1376, in Canterbury Cathedral, after Stothard



*b.* Gauntlet of a boy's armour, probably Milanese late fourteenth century, in the Museum and originally in the Cathedral at Chartres



*c.* Gauntlet from Alsnö Hus, Sweden. National Museum of Antiquities, Stockholm



## TWO GAUNTLETS FROM RIPON CATHEDRAL 115

second quarter of the fourteenth century, and documentary evidence indicates that they were in use before this. The effigy of Sir Richard Whatton at Whatton in Nottinghamshire is still clad in pure mail, except for his plated gauntlets, which are of the same type as those on the hands of the partly plated effigy of John of Eltham, d. 1337, in Westminster Abbey.<sup>1</sup> These early specimens, like much other armour of the time, were often covered with rich textile in the manner recorded in the Inventory of Louis X of France, 1316: *Item, uns gantilez couvers de velveil vermeil*. The Wisby fragments and the two pieces in the Tower and British Museum belong to this category. The provenance of the Tower example is unknown, that in the British Museum came from Kugelsberg in Westphalia.

About the middle of the century what Sir Guy Laking called the 'hour-glass' type was evolved and remained in use into the first quarter of the next. This consisted of a single plate of iron wrapped round the wrist, often not quite meeting on the inner side, and having an extension covering the back of the hand as far as the knuckles. The cuff is widely flared to allow movement to the wrist without the need for articulation, and the palm of the hand left bare. The finger scales were at first attached independently to the lining glove,<sup>2</sup> and this accounts for the fact that in most surviving examples the finger scales are missing. Curiously enough, these scales survive in part on both the two English examples.

I have been careful to refer to the Ripon gauntlets as two gauntlets and not as a pair of gauntlets, which in point of fact they are not. Although they are for the right and the left hands respectively, they show considerable differences in detail. For instance the modelling of the knuckles is much more pronounced on the right hand. On the left there are three grooves following the lines of the tendons scored on the back of the hand. The wrist of the right-hand gauntlet is narrower and the flare of the cuff deeper and wider. On the left gauntlet there is a V-shaped pucker embossed between the thumb and first finger, a feature absent in the other.

Their respective measurements are as follows:

	Left hand	Right hand
Circumference of wrist . . . . .	10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.	10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
"    of cuff . . . . .	14 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	16 $\frac{1}{4}$ "
Depth of cuff from wrist to border . . . . .	1 $\frac{7}{8}$ "	2 $\frac{1}{8}$ "
Wrist to edge of knuckles . . . . .	3 "	3 "

It is clear therefore that they are survivors of not one, but of two pairs of gauntlets of the same period.

Twenty rectangular finger scales and three thumb scales remain,

<sup>1</sup> C. Stothard, *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*, 1817, pls. 52, 53, 55.

<sup>2</sup> Clearly shown, for instance, on the brass of Sir John St. Quintin, d. 1397, at Brandesburton, Yorks.



most of them measuring  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. in length. They have been refixed in the same order in which they were riveted to the red leather straps inserted at the time that the gauntlets were furbished up for Sir Edward Blackett's funeral. These leathers have been left in place, but the scales may not be in their original sequence. For instance the four scales on the little finger of the left hand seem to make it unnecessarily long. Three terminal scales, rounded for the tips of the fingers, survive on the index and little fingers of the left hand and the fourth finger of the right hand. They are longer than the others and measure  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. in length. There is a similar terminal scale on the end of the thumb of the left hand, measuring 1 in. in length. The left hand has most of the finger plates intact, comprising a complete index finger of five scales, four scales (one very fragmentary) of the second, two of the third and four of the fourth finger, and all three scales of the thumb. The right hand retains only one scale of the second and all five scales of the fourth finger. At intervals round the edge of the main plate of each are small holes for attaching the lining glove. The rivets round the cuff and the smaller ones on the knuckles must all, with one possible exception, have been inserted in 1718 to hold the band of leather placed inside the rim of the cuff and the straps for the finger scales, although years of corrosion have since made them merge with the older metal.

There are a few faint traces of paint,<sup>1</sup> probably once slate grey but now light brown, with which the gauntlets were coated, as was done to most funeral armour, in 1718. There are also a few specks of scarlet paint which may have arrived accidentally when the leather additions were coloured the bright scarlet which they still retain.

The Black Prince's gauntlets (pl. x a) are made of thin latten, not iron. Sir Guy Laking regarded them as purely funeral furniture, though they are very carefully made and finished, even to embroidery in gold thread on the leather lining gloves. They almost exactly reproduce the gauntlets on the copper-gilt effigy of the prince himself (pl. ix a), the only difference being that the knuckles of the former were formerly embellished with little lions statant, which can still be discerned in Stothard's drawing made in 1811 (fig. 2). One of these lions was at one time in the possession of Sir Guy Laking. Its present whereabouts is unknown. In both cases the border of the cuffs is encircled with a row of close-set rivets, and the fingers have pointed gadlings on the first joint, instead of uniform scales, as on the Ripon gauntlets. These gadlings enabled the gauntlet to be used for offence as well as defence. In d'Oronville's *Vie de Louis de Bourbon* a combat is described between a French champion and an English Gascon when the former threw his opponent to the ground 'et se jeta sur

<sup>1</sup> They can be seen as patches on the right side of the left hand gauntlet on pl. viii.





a. The gauntlets of latten forming part of the Black Prince's funeral achievement as photographed by Sir W. St. John Hope for *Vetusta Monumenta*, 1896



b. Pair of gauntlets with brass enrichments, c. 1390, part of the harness of one of the Vogts of Matsch in the armoury of the Castle of Churburg, South Tyrol, in the possession of his descendant Count Trapp





*Photo. by Fred. H. Crossley, F.S.A.*

Detail of the alabaster effigy ascribed to Sir Thomas Arderne, d. 1391 (erected  
c. 1405-20) in Elford Church, Staffordshire



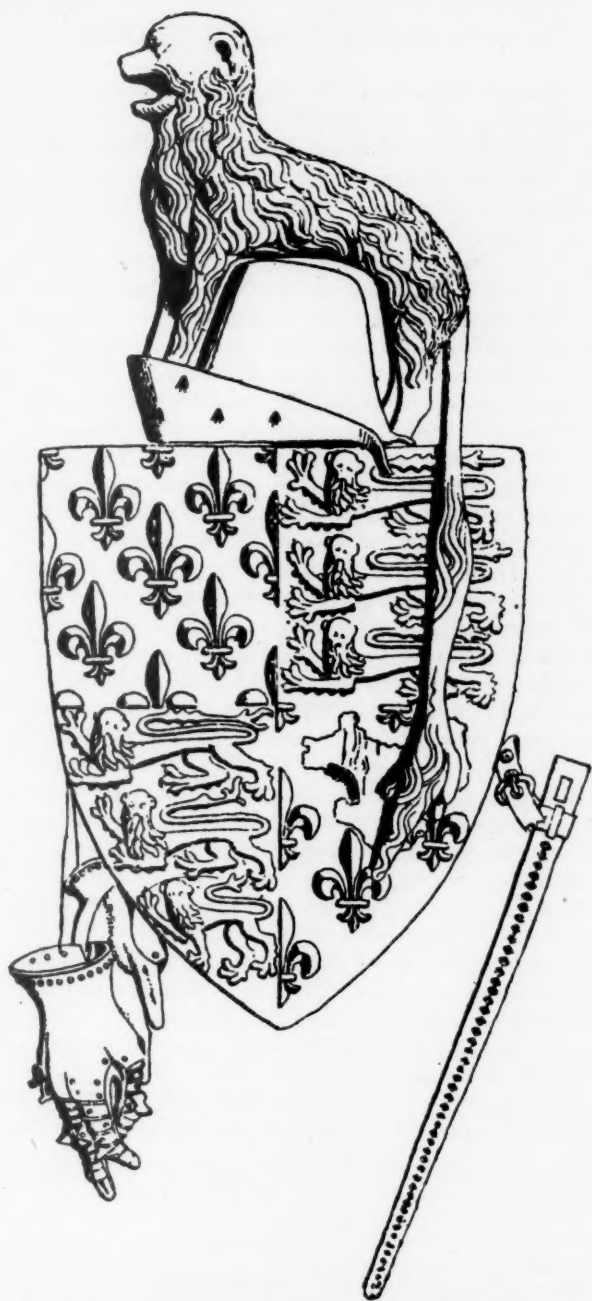


FIG. 2. Part of the funeral achievement of the Black Prince hanging over his monument in Canterbury Cathedral, drawn by Stothard in 1811.



luy, et luy leva la visièrre en luy donnant trois coups de gantelet sur le visage'. One finger of the Black Prince's gauntlet has found its way into the Joseph Mayer collection in the Liverpool Museum, where it lay unlabelled until recognized by Mr. C. R. Beard a few years ago.<sup>1</sup>

The only other pair of gauntlets of this date in this country are the enriched pair in the Wallace Collection (Catalogue of 1924, nos. 6 and 7). These bear a strong family resemblance to the pair at Churburg in south Tyrol<sup>2</sup> (pl. x *b*), which retain their canvas lining gloves but no finger scales; and to a slightly lesser extent to the pair in the Ressman Collection in the Bargello at Florence.<sup>3</sup>

A fourth pair is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, which was among the armour brought from the Venetian fortress of Chalcis and is exhibited as part of a composite harness of c. 1380-1410.<sup>4</sup>

The above four pairs are in all probability of Italian make. Three of them have enrichments of latten, punched and inscribed, and a narrow roped or knulled band of the same material encircling the joint of the wrist. This last feature misled Hewitt to deduce that the 'hour-glass' or 'bell-cuffed' gauntlets on many English effigies and brasses were made in two pieces instead of one. Note in particular the marked angular bevelling of the knuckles and the grooves down the backs of the hands on the Churburg and Wallace examples. The Churburg harness bears on the bascinet a Milanese mark of the letter **P**. The Ressman gauntlets are marked with the letters **A. J.**

A plain gauntlet for the right hand in the Museo Stibbert<sup>5</sup> shows the same bevelling and grooves as the Churburg and Wallace examples. It resembles them in all essential respects except in the lack of brass enrichment. There is an almost precisely similar gauntlet for the left hand in the Ressman collection, which so closely resembles the Stibbert example that it might be the pair to it but for a row of close-set rivets round the cuff, whereas the Stibbert one shows rivet holes at fairly long intervals.

Similar grooves on the back of the hand are visible on the gauntlet of the boy's armour in the City Museum at Chartres and formerly in the cathedral (pl. ix *b*). This also may be judged to be Italian from the tulip-shape of the vambrace, which resembles the form of the early examples at Churburg.<sup>6</sup>

I do not think the resemblance between the Ripon gauntlets and those mentioned above necessarily warrants the belief that they, too, were made in Italy, though Yorkshiremen are known already to

<sup>1</sup> *The Connoisseur*, xcv (1935), 136.

<sup>2</sup> Trapp and Mann, *The Armoury of the Castle of Churburg*, 1929, no. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Laking, *Record of European Armour and Arms*, 1920-2, ii, fig. 365, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> Kienbusch and Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Memorial Collection*, 193, pl. 1.

<sup>5</sup> A. Lenzi, *Il Museo Stibbert* (1918), no. 3551, pl. clxi; *The Connoisseur*, c (1941), 72, fig. viii.

<sup>6</sup> Trapp and Mann, *op. cit.*, nos. 13, 18, 47, 48.



have been buying armour from Milan. In his will, proved 3rd May 1399, Philip Lord d'Arcy stated 'Item lego Philippo filio meo unam loricam de Milayne'.<sup>1</sup> The same grooves on the back of the hand are found on the gauntlets excavated at the Castle of Tannenberg (near Darmstadt, destroyed in 1399, not the one in E. Prussia), and that from Alsno Hüs in Sweden, destroyed in 1390 (pl. ix c).

All these gauntlets must be accepted as belonging to a general type, widely spread throughout Europe at this time, and one which is to be seen in fact on most English effigies and brasses of the period. If the English alabastermen copied Italian models, the English armourers could too, and we know from documentary evidence that many armourers were working in London and other parts of England, including Yorkshire, at this time.<sup>2</sup> Of the two military effigies at Elford, Staffordshire, the first, which dates from c. 1380 (not 1474 as wrongly deduced by Richardson from a later inscription), shows a simple pair of gauntlets very like those on the Black Prince's effigy with a row of rivets round the cuffs. The second effigy (pl. xi) traditionally ascribed to Sir Thomas Arderne, d. 1391, but probably erected c. 1405-20, shows a more elaborate pair with applied enrichments round the cuffs and wrists. The decorative lozenges on the back of the hands are found in numerous effigies and brasses between the years 1400 and 1430, and correspond to the brass spokes on the back of the Ressim pair. Both Elford effigies exhibit the narrow raised bands across the finger scales which occur on the funeral gauntlets of the Black Prince (pl. x a).

Documentary evidence of brass borders and enrichments on English gauntlets is supplied by the inventory of the goods of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, at his castle of Pleshey in 1397, which includes 'item, iij peir gantz de plates, doñt ij sont garnisez de latoñ enorrez p's le peir xld 13s. 4d'.<sup>3</sup> That of Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York, taken at his death in 1423, mentions 'et de ijs receptis pro uno pare cirothecarum, cum condol' de laton, de antiqua forma'.<sup>4</sup>

The following extracts from a number of York wills of this time have been selected because of their specific mention of gauntlets of plate (*cirothecae*). The particulars which they give of the component parts of fourteenth-century armour are thinly disguised in Latin or baldly inserted in the vernacular.

<sup>1</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia* I (1836), no. clxxv. In 1430 William Stowe of Ripon left to Henry Mauncell 'unam loricam de Milan apud Rypon', and to his brother John 'unum doublett defensiorum, apud Ripon, et unam loricam apud Werkeswerth et unum steele hat', *Ibid.*, vol. ii, x.

<sup>2</sup> The Register of the Freemen of York published by the Surtees Society, 1896, gives the names of twenty-two armourers of York between 1350 and 1420, six buckler makers and three mailmakers.

<sup>3</sup> Dillon, *Arch. Journal* LIV (1897), 305-7. <sup>4</sup> *Test. Ebor.* III (1865), no. xvii.



*Will of Margery Lady Aldeburgh*

Item lego Petro Mawley, filio meo, unum melius basenett cum ventayll.  
Item unam loricam,<sup>1</sup> quae fuit Edwardi Ballyoclyff [Edward Balliol, ex-King of Scotland]. Item armaturam pro brachiis, tibiis et pedibus, cirotecas eciam pro manibus.

Proved 19th October 1391. *Testamenta Eboracensia* I, no. cxxi.

*Will of Thomas de Meryngton, St. Luke's Day, 1391*

Item lego optimum animal meum pro mortuario meo, cum habirion et basenet cum eventale, cum gladio et cerutecis.

Proved 26th October. *Ibid.*, no. ccxxvi.

*Will of John de Clyfford, Treasurer of the Cathedral of York, 1392* (who bequeathed among other things his best missal to the High Altar at Ripon).

Item lego Marmaduco de Leryner unam loricam, cum uno bacineto et aventale et una lancia. . . . Item lego sibi [Ricardo fratri meo] unum jak coopertum cum nigro velwette, unum de melioribus bacenetis meis, cum pisano<sup>2</sup>, unam loricam, unum bonum par cerotecarum de plate, cum vambrase et rerebrase, quischetes, pelonns,<sup>3</sup> grefes, et una bona lancea. . . . Et ista arma et vasa volo quod custodiat filio suo seniori, postquam ipse demiserit arma, vel post ejus mortem.

Proved 22nd March 1393. *Ibid.*, no. cxl.

*Will of Robert Usher de Estretford, Michaelmas 1392*

Item lego Johanni Marcham omnem armaturam meam, exceptis uno haberjon et j payr glovys de playt, quas lego Ricardo de Thryston.

Proved 26 April 1393. *Ibid.*, no. cxliv.

*Will of Sir John Depedene, 20th Aug. 1402*

Et do et lego Johanni filio Milonis de Stapilton . . . j gladium ornatum cum argento, quondam patris sui et j thwahandsword (*two-hand sword*) . . . . Et do et lego Radulpho de Goldesburgh v marcas, et j jak de defens, j bacinet, j par de wambrace et j par cirotecarum de plate. . . . Et do et lego Thomae Sampson unam loricam, videlicet j chesserant (*jazerant*).

Proved 19th December 1402. *Ibid.*, no. ccxvi.

There remains the question of how these gauntlets came to be associated with the baroque monument of Sir Edward Blackett some three hundred or more years after they were made.

The most likely supposition is that they had previously formed part of an earlier achievement in the cathedral. We know from many other cases that funeral undertakers made use of earlier material for the furnishings which they were called on to supply. As has already been noted, the helmet of the Blackett achievements also belongs to an earlier age. By the year 1718 no one was making gauntlets any more and the simplest course was to re-use old material.

<sup>1</sup> *Lorica* is the usual term for a mail shirt. When other forms of body armour are referred to, the specific vernacular words "jak, bregaunter, par de platis, bresteplate" are used.

<sup>2</sup> *Pisanum*, *puzaine*, *pisan* = a mail defence or collar for the chest, here possibly used for an aventail.

<sup>3</sup> *Poleyns*, i.e. knee-pieces. *Quischets* = cuisses.





*Photo. by Arthur Gardner, F.S.A.*

Stone effigy ascribed to Sir Thomas de Markenfield, erected c. 1400-20, in Ripon Cathedral



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It is not impossible that these gauntlets were first suspended in Ripon Cathedral over the stone effigy of Sir Thomas de Markenfield (pl. xii). The fashion of his armour, which exhibits a breastplate and skirt of lames uncovered by a jupon, but still retains a mail aventail to the bascinet, indicates the first years of the fifteenth century. Mr. D. Gilyard-Beer tells me that there were two Sir Thomas de Markenfields, one who was alive in 1394 and dead by 1398, and his son who was alive in 1422 but dead in 1436. The shields on the side of the tomb-chest include the arms of the wives of both Sir Thomases (Miniott and Soothill) and of the families into which two children of the second Sir Thomas married (Middleton and Ward), but they do not include the arms of Calverley, into which a younger daughter of the second Sir Thomas married in 1415. These facts taken together suggest that the monument was erected by the second Sir Thomas during his lifetime.

There is another and potent source by which much armour came into the possession of the church. The will of Thomas de Meryngton, quoted above, mentions armour as being included in his mortuary, or *corse present*, made to the church in which he was buried. It is an instance of a very usual practice.<sup>1</sup> In Bourne's *Popular Antiquities*, published in 1777, it is stated, 'The Payment of Mortuaries is of great Antiquity. . . . It was considered as a Gift left by a Man at his Death by Way of Recompense for all Failures in the Payment of Tithes and Oblations and called a *corse present*.' Unlike the funeral achievement which was to hang over the monument 'for ever', the mortuary gift was sold by the priest or otherwise employed for the benefit of the church. In the case of men it often consisted of his best horse or cow, in the case of priests or women their best gown. By an Act of Henry VIII in 1530 the obligation was commuted to a money payment on a fixed scale.

<sup>1</sup> Other Yorkshire examples of armour devised as mortuaries occur in the wills of Sir Gilbert de Ayton, 10th April 1350, 'Item devise a William mon fitz la beneyson de Dieu et la moyne et mes armes et armurs, sauf mon atyre pour mortuarie, et une acketon que jeo ay done a Roger mon chambreleyn'; of Sir William Dronsfield, 1406, 'In primis lego . . . corpus meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum de Silkeston, cum meliori averio meo cum tota sequela pertinente ad hominem armatum nomine mortuarii mei'; of John Normanville, 1408, 'Item vicario ecclesiae predictae (B.M. de Tadcastre), nomine mortuarii mei, meum optimum equum cum cella et freno. Item eidem vicario unam loricam et j basenet. Item Thomae Normanville filio meo j loricam, j bresteplate & j basenet'; of Sir Gerard de Usflete, 1420, 'Item lego ecclesiae in quo sepultus fuero, unam par de bregaunters, cum tota reliqua armatura mea in qua fui armatus'; The *corse-present* of a later Sir Thomas Markenfield, d. 1497, contained no armour. In his will (*Test. Ebor.* IV, no. lxiii) he stated 'I becuith to the church of Rypon my beste horse, with bridell, sadell and oder apparell, in the name of my mortuary corspresand'. His monument is also in the Cathedral.

On the other hand, the armour hung over the tomb was not disposable, but being part of the hatchment was vested in the heirs of the deceased. As Sir Edward Blackett's example shows, this custom continued for long after the mortuary or *corse-present* had been commuted by law for a money payment.



The price of a pair of gauntlets of the best quality at the beginning of the fourteenth century can be gathered from an entry in the wardrobe accounts of Edward I<sup>1</sup> *sub anno* 1302-3, in which Bernard de Devon, armourer of London, is recorded as having supplied the Prince of Wales, then with the army in Scotland, with two pairs of jambes at 20s. a pair, one pair plate quisses at 6s. 8d. a pair, a pair of poleyns and two pairs of sabatons in all 13s. 4d., and a pair of gloves of plate 10s. The amount of plate armour at this early date is interesting. He also supplied a coffer of cuir-bouilli bound with iron for the prince's bascinet at 4s. 2d., and a new pair of great trunks for his iron armour, iron wire for mending his two shirts of mail, and two crests of gilt copper painted with the prince's arms.

A third channel by which armour passed into the possession of the church was as an *ex Voto*. A soldier would dedicate his armour to the patron saint of a church in honour of a victory or in thanksgiving for survival. After being wounded in an engagement near Paris on 7th September 1429 Joan of Arc offered to the altar of St. Denis 'a whole complete white armour as for a man at arms and a sword won before Paris, *per devotionem*, as was the custom among men at arms when wounded'. This fact was elicited in her private examination on 17th March 1431.<sup>2</sup> The greatest surviving instance of this practice I have described to the Society in two accounts of the armour in the Sanctuary of the Madonna delle Grazie near Mantua.<sup>3</sup>

Thomas Lynehous of Leventhorp, 1453, left in his will armour to be used to maintain a lamp in the church of Middlesborough.<sup>4</sup>

Such are the possible ways in which the two gauntlets may have reached their present habitat. Of these the first is the most likely. Their fortunate survival as part of a later achievement, and Messrs. Gilyard-Beer's discovery of the fact, have enabled a welcome addition to be made to the very small amount of armour in England dating from the time of the Hundred Years War.

I have to thank our Fellows, Mr. F. H. Crossley and Mr. Arthur Gardner, for permission to reproduce their photographs on pls. xi and xii.

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in H.M.'s Public Record Office, London*, II, Edinburgh, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> J. Quicherat, *Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite la Pucelle*, 1841, i, 305. 'Interrogata si hoc fecit, ut dicta arma adorarentur: respondit quod non.'

<sup>3</sup> *Archaeologia* lxxx (1930), 117-142, and lxxxvii (1938), 311-51.

<sup>4</sup> *Test. Ebor.* III, no. cxxxviii, 'ad sustentacionem luminum Sanctae Crucis, B. Mariae et S. Katerinae in eccles. predic. j jak de ffence'.



## *An Iron Age Site near Epsom*

By SHEPPARD FRERE

THE site here to be described was discovered in November 1940, when the writer was examining mechanical excavations near Longdown Lane, Epsom, for archaeological material; and it

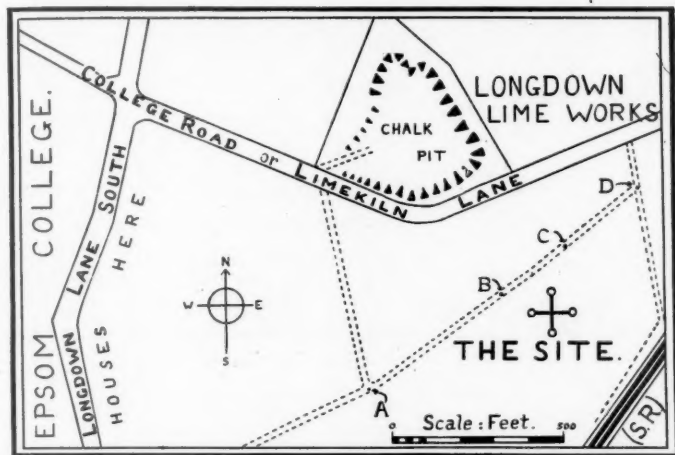


FIG. 1. Map showing position of the site

consists of a shallow pit containing remains attributable to the Iron Age. The site (fig. 1) lies about 330 ft. above O.D. on a northward sloping spur of the North Downs. Thus the subsoil is Upper Chalk (Marsupites Zone); but in places this is capped with Tertiary clay, and occasionally there are deep flaws in the rock, also filled with clay. The modern plough-soil hereabouts is 1 ft. thick, and below it is a layer of old plough-soil visible as brown clay with small chalk particles, on an average 6 in. deep. In the edge of the mechanical excavation above mentioned there was seen (fig. 2) a pit sunk through the brown plough-soil into the natural clay pocket, and its top had of course been removed by modern ploughing. The pit was filled with dark soil; its floor was flat and lay 2 ft. from the surface and was 2 ft. 2 in. wide. The dark filling contained small potsherds, tiny particles of charcoal, bone burnt and unburnt, and the lower stone of a saddle-quern.

The writer salvaged as much as was practicable on the spot, and later obtained permission to empty the whole pit; but it was



not possible to clear any large area and search for post-holes.<sup>1</sup> When cleared, the pit was seen to have a level floor and to be roughly circular with a diameter of 3 ft. The walls were not undercut, but sloped steeply down to the flat floor (fig. 2).

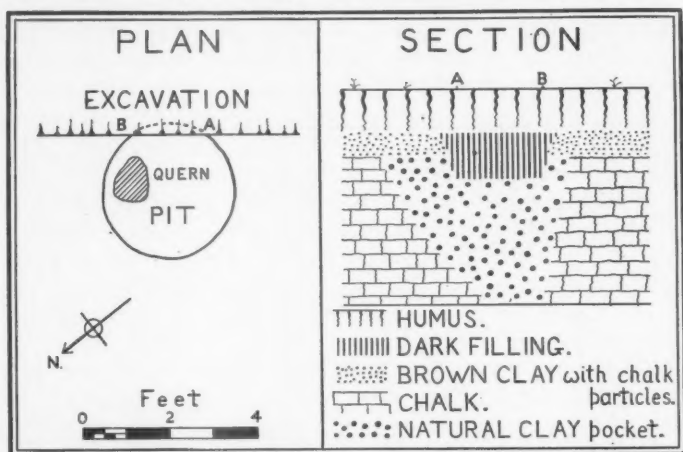


FIG. 2. Plan and section

### THE FINDS

(i) *Bone.*

The following animal bones were kindly identified by my colleague Mr. A. E. Ellis, M.A., F.L.S.

Ox: part of left side of skull, lower edge of orbit.

Sheep: tooth and ribs.

Dog: part of glenoid region of squamosal.

Hare: rib.

(ii) Saddle-quern, dimensions 12 in.  $\times$  9 in.  $\times$  3 in. From the lower side a large flake has been detached in order to allow the instrument to rest firmly at a slope of approximately 12°.

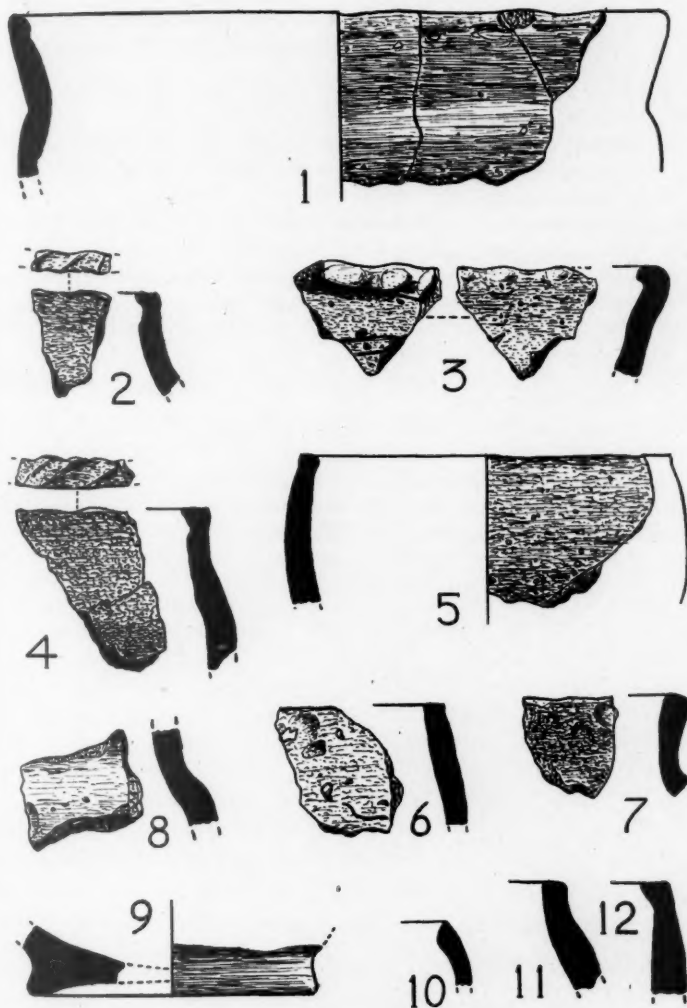
(iii) Small iron nail or pin 1½ in. long, and diameter ⅜ in., with slightly larger head ⅙ in. in diameter.

(iv) *Pottery* (fig. 3):

1. Rim and shoulder; black paste and small flint grit; black slip burnished outside and, more roughly, inside; flint grit protrudes on shoulder; lip slightly rolled.
2. Rim of hard fairly thin grey-black coarse ware, with flattened lip overhanging internally; oblique finger-nail cabling on top.
3. Rim of brick pink-red ware, good texture; rolled internally and finger-impressed; diameter apparently about 5½ in.

<sup>1</sup> By kind permission of the owner, Miss Misen, and with the consent of the Works, several 4-yard squares were stripped, but only at some distance from the pit, in the hopes of finding other traces, but without result.



FIG. 3. Iron Age pottery from Epsom ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

4. Rim of coarse black rather soft ware; medium flint grit; rim flattened and overhanging internally; finger-nail cabling and a finger-print mark on top.
5. Incurving rim of small bowl; coarse ware; small and medium flint grit; surface brown-black outside, black inside.
6. Rim; large and medium flint grit; finger-impression below lip.
7. Rim and neck; coarse ware; medium flint grit, with a small flint pebble on inside surface; brick-red soft surface inside, blackened hard



surface outside; flattened top, and finger-impression below lip. At bottom of fragment is a protruding piece, either the shoulder or a finger-impressed band.

8. Shoulder; coarse ware; large and medium flint grit on inside; rough brown slip outside; finger impressions on shoulder.
9. Hollow moulded base in very soft crumbly black ware, without grit; this had to be very carefully detached from its matrix of soil before sticking together.
10. Small incurving rim-fragment, internally bevelled; brown black; medium and small grit.
11. Rim of coarse brown hard ware; large and medium grit; lip flattened and impressed obliquely with the finger-nail.
12. Flattened rim, internally overhanging; large and small grit. 11 and 12 possibly have a rough slip.
13. (Unfigured.) Base fragment; coarse ware; medium flint grit; brown outside, black inside.
14. (Unfigured.) Two fragments with red haematite coat, one in good condition, the other patchy; paste black and sandy, recalling 9.

There were also several coarse fragments, mostly in the usual hard coarse brown ware, but one with moderately good burnished slip inside and out, and two pieces of softish corky ware.

It is necessary to emphasize the association and contemporaneity of these pieces. There was no sign of disturbance in the filling, and the presence of very fragile bone, too, disproves subsequent disturbance. The pit, again, unlike the silos at, for example, Woodbury,<sup>1</sup> which were subsequently filled with heterogeneous rubbish, is small and shallow and no doubt domestic in character, the contents being thus homogeneous. Finally, it is unlikely that surrounding occupation of earlier date was responsible for the presence as strays of, for example, no. 14; for no such traces were observed either in the mechanical excavations or in the trial trenches, and thus cannot be plentiful to say the least; and the pit must be virtually single or isolated.

#### DISCUSSION

Most of these potsherds are in the Iron Age A tradition, devolved, it is true, but paralleled on other Surrey A sites<sup>2</sup> and recalling prototypes in the classic sites of the culture. It would indeed be possible to give them a date fairly early in the A culture on the strength of similarities to vessels from other sites;<sup>3</sup> on the

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* vi, 48, where group B is like in form but not in filling.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. compare no. 3 with *Surrey A.C.* xxii, fig. 25, from Leigh Hill, Cobham; no. 4 with a large jar from St. Martha's Hill, *Surrey A.C.* xliii, 115; no. 1 with the small one from the same site, *ibid.*; and no. 6 with a sherd from Cobham in Guildford Museum unfigured by Smith (but cf. *Surrey A.C.* xxii, fig. 26).

<sup>3</sup> e.g. *All Cannings Cross*: our no. 6 with pl. 28. 18; our nos. 2, 4, 9 with pl. 30. 2, pl. 38. 6, pl. 39. 6, pl. 40. 2.



other hand, recent research in Kent and Surrey has supported an idea propounded by R. A. Smith<sup>1</sup> that there may have been considerable survival of A characters in backward regions to a late date. To assist our conclusion, there are fortunately present in close association with these sherds two other elements:

(i) *The moulded hollow base* (no. 9).

(ii) *The two pieces of haematite ware* (no. 14).

To deal with (i). This is a type of base characteristic of the recently recognized Wealden Culture, first described by Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins<sup>2</sup> and elaborated by Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes in his paper on the pottery from the Caburn.<sup>3</sup>

South-eastern England, as is well known, had since the fifth century B.C. been occupied by peasant cultures of Hallstatt ancestry, varying locally yet largely uniform. During the third century B.C., however, continental pressure caused a migration of La Tène chieftains and their followers from the Marne region of France, and these landed in Britain, principally in Yorkshire, introducing the culture of Iron Age B. But as Mr. Hawkes has recently demonstrated,<sup>4</sup> these Marnian warriors did not pass by the Hallstatt area of southern England without attack; the menace of invasion caused hurried fort-building all along the south coast; in spite of these defensive measures, however, landings were effected, and one of them took place in central Sussex, where the invaders succeeded in dominating the Cissbury area of downland, and isolating east Sussex from the west. During the next century and a half they penetrated northwards into the Weald in search of iron. Gaining strength, perhaps, from this economic exploitation, their culture expanded both south- and northwards; and by the end of the second century B.C. they had blotted out the A2 survival of Caburn I,<sup>5</sup> and had established themselves on the Greensand hills of Kent and Surrey.<sup>6</sup> Their first phase of domination in Sussex is well authenticated in the pottery record by shouldered vessels of Marnian ancestry,<sup>7</sup> as well as by characteristic pedestal vessels.<sup>8</sup> During the years of expansion northwards their pottery shapes became modified (do we here see the influence of inter-marriage with native women?), and the only index of their Marnian ancestry and at once the chief criterion of the Wealden culture becomes a degenerate pedestal

<sup>1</sup> Leigh Hill, Cobham. *Surrey A.C.* xxii, 152.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia Cantiana*, li, 137-81, Excavations on Oldbury Hill, Igtham, 1938.

<sup>3</sup> *Sussex A.C.* lxxx, 217-62.

<sup>4</sup> *Sussex A.C.* lxxx, 235-6; *Antiq. Journ.* xx, 115-21.

<sup>5</sup> *Sussex A.C.* lxxx, 245-6.

<sup>6</sup> *Arch. Cant.* li, 158-70.

<sup>7</sup> e.g. Highdown, *Sussex A.C.* lxxxi, 194, fig. 4 g-k.

<sup>8</sup> e.g. Park Brow. *Archaeologia*, lxxvi, 19, figs. 10A, 10B.



form of base, the 'foot-ring bowl',<sup>1</sup> or (more happily) the 'dumpy-pedestal pot'.<sup>2</sup> This type of pot has been found at a number of sites in the Weald and even in the Thames estuary.<sup>3</sup> In Surrey it has been recorded from the Greensand Camps of Hascombe and Holmbury. Now it appears on our site on the northern slopes of the North Downs, and in 1940 the writer excavated still farther north a similar base on the sands of Cuddington near Nonsuch Park.<sup>4</sup> In addition Mr. A. W. G. Lowther informs me that he has detected Marnian influence in the pottery excavated from the primary levels of the camp at Queen Mary's Hospital, Carshalton, and in some from 'Inward Shaw', Church Lane, Ashted.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Ward Perkins has set out the evidence<sup>5</sup> on which he argues fairly conclusively that the Wealden culture was fully in existence by 100 B.C., and his Oldbury excavations showed that it lasted to within sight of the Claudian conquest.

The undoubted association of our Epsom group with this 'Wealden' base must lower the date which might otherwise be assigned to the sherds of A character. Is it possible to go further, and indicate with more precision a date within the possible century and a half (100 B.C.—A.D. 50)?

In a small closed site such as the present it is of course particularly dangerous to argue from absence. But it can do no harm to remark that while earlier Belgic material (of Aylesford and Wheathampstead types) is markedly absent from Surrey,<sup>6</sup> there are, however, a variety of wares, assignable to the early first century A.D., found on neighbouring sites.<sup>7</sup> Ewell has produced a white rouletted butt-beaker;<sup>8</sup> several sites<sup>9</sup> have produced pots of 'Patch Grove'<sup>10</sup> type; and from several others have been obtained varieties of late ABC<sup>11</sup> wares. Of such Belgic-derived types, which became current in the district in the years following the death of Augustus,<sup>12</sup> there is no hint at our site. But for

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Cant.* li, 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* iv, 152; *Sussex A.C.* lxxx, 254.

<sup>3</sup> See distribution map *Arch. Cant.* li, 157.

<sup>4</sup> Shortly to be published by Mr. Lowther, in his paper on 'The Iron Age in Surrey'.<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Except for an apparently early pedestal vessel found during the original excavations at Queen Mary's Hospital, Carshalton, a short distance south of the camp.

<sup>7</sup> These wares are fully treated by Mr. Lowther in his forthcoming survey, 'The Iron Age in Surrey', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*

<sup>8</sup> An imported (Gallo-Belgic) type, though these were perhaps also made at Colchester.

<sup>9</sup> Listed in *Sussex A.C.* lxxxi, 158.

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Ward Perkins's term, *Arch. Cant.* li, 176–80.

<sup>11</sup> A convenient term in non-Belgic districts for native wares showing Belgic influence.

<sup>12</sup> At a time, significantly enough, when Belgic control over the whole of SE. Britain was being unified under Cunobelin.



positive evidence we must rely partly on the fact that the other rims show no hint of influence from these sources, but chiefly on the second associated element.

(ii) *The haematite ware* (no. 14). The technique of giving to pottery a red burnished surface 'by the use of an oxide of iron, probably haematite',<sup>1</sup> in reproduction of the copper-red hue of bronze vessels, was practised in an area of southern Britain during the last six centuries B.C. The nucleus of this area lies in Wiltshire and Dorset, and roughly speaking the haematite province and Wessex are coterminous.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, a small series of Iron Age red-faced ware which, while no doubt involving the use of haematite in its production, is distinct in appearance from the Wessex series and has a south-eastern distribution. The type site is at Margate, and the technique employed appears to be the application of a haematite-impregnated clay slip capable of bearing a high polish; the Wessex technique, on the other hand, appears to be the application of a colour-slip only. Here the matter must rest until laboratory research has defined the facts more surely: in any case it is the visible distinction that alone is of importance here.<sup>3</sup>

In Sussex there is an early group of Hallstatt pottery from Eastbourne,<sup>4</sup> and another example comes from Park Brow.<sup>5</sup> Both of these have haematite coat and must date from the original series of Hallstatt immigration about 500 B.C. (fig. 4). Thereafter the practice died out,<sup>6</sup> partly owing to the survival in this region of a strong indigenous Late Bronze Age population with its own ideas of ornament, which caused an adulteration of Hallstatt tradition; and partly owing to the natural difficulty of obtaining the iron at hand (for the Wealden deposits were apparently not tapped at all until some centuries later);<sup>7</sup> and haematite coating was only revived in the first half of the third century B.C. under influence emanating from Wessex at the close of the A1 phase there.<sup>8</sup> Excavations at Highdown, however, have shown that this Wessex influence did not last long uninterrupted, for about the middle of the century began these Marnian (B) invasions whose results have been summarized above.

Haematite coating in Sussex, then, is unusual and extraneous,

<sup>1</sup> *Antiq. Journ.* xvi, 268.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xvi, 268; *Oxoniensia*, iv, 15.

<sup>3</sup> References to haematite-coating in this paper must be taken to imply the Wessex technique unless it is otherwise stated.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiq. Journ.* ii, 354.

<sup>5</sup> *Archaeologia*, lxxvi, 18.

<sup>6</sup> The writer has had the benefit of discussion on this point with Dr. A. E. Wilson.

<sup>7</sup> Curwen, *Archaeology of Sussex*, 258-9, but see p. 136 below.

<sup>8</sup> *Sussex A.C.* lxxx, 219-27; lxxxi, 182, 193. We are not here concerned with the distribution of this third-century haematite. It will be mapped and listed by Dr. Wilson in a forthcoming paper on the Sussex Iron Age.



and more normally the pots were finished with a slip of smooth clay, which fired to a brown or reddish colour to produce a similar resemblance to bronze, a resemblance also noted in the usual angular shape of the vessels. That this brown slip technique

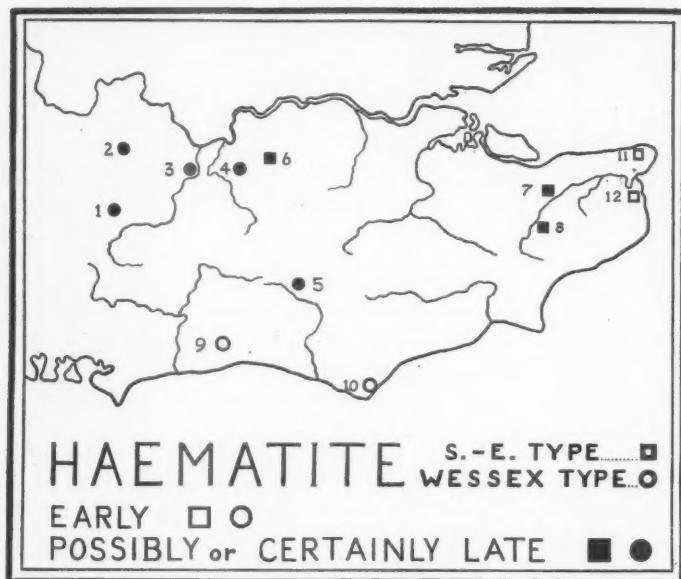


FIG. 4. Distribution Map

Site numbers: 1, Farnham; 2, Caesar's Camp; 3, Wisley; 4, Epsom; 5, Horsted Keynes; 6, Carshalton; 7, Bigberry Camp; 8, Wye; 9, Park Brow; 10, Eastbourne; 11, Margate; 12, Worth

is of equal antiquity with the first haematite is proved by Dr. Wilson's rediscovery of a cordoned and incised jar of early type so treated, which was excavated in 1908 at Hollingbury Camp near Brighton.<sup>1</sup> And as a convenient substitute for haematite, or on its own merits, it lasted through Caburn I times in east Sussex, and later elsewhere. Such a slip has been noted on certain of the Epsom sherds.

The distribution of red-coated pottery in Kent and Surrey is not profuse. It has been found in Surrey at three other sites apart from Epsom, at Farnham, Wisley, and Carshalton; and in Kent it has been found at Margate and Worth, Bigberry Camp near Canterbury, and Wye near Ashford.<sup>2</sup> Now the Kent sites (fig. 4)

<sup>1</sup> Information by courtesy of Dr. A. E. Wilson.

<sup>2</sup> Information kindly given by Mr. Ward Perkins and Mr. R. F. Jessup. The whole question of haematite will be considered by Dr. Wheeler in the forthcoming Maiden Castle Report.



are in the east of the county, and belong to the 'clay-slip' variety, no doubt indicating a different continental origin; two of them are on the coast, and their associations are early.<sup>1</sup> Much extraneous early material found its way to the coast of east Kent,<sup>2</sup> and these sites no doubt play a corresponding rôle to Eastbourne in Sussex (p. 129); but in Kent, unlike Sussex, the haematite tradition, in its different form, seems powerful enough to have secured survival: the associations of the Wye piece<sup>3</sup> are unknown as it was a fortuitous find, but at Bigberry<sup>4</sup> the probability is strong of a date in the first century B.C. and of amalgamation of native A peasants with the incoming Belgae.

Surrey, like Sussex, lies on the periphery of the Wessex haematite province; but it is also connected by the North Downs with the south-eastern 'clay-slip' haematite area in Kent. Now Mr. Ward Perkins tells me he has no reason at all to connect haematite with the 'Wealden' culture, the first to bridge the empty forest barrier from the south: our haematite, then, did not come from Sussex. Hence in Surrey haematite ware, if not of indigenous descent from Hallstatt times, will denote either Wessex or Kentish influence; and the distinction will be at once apparent from the appearance of the sherds. It may be said at once that with the exception of the Carshalton sherd the Surrey haematite is of the Wessex type; and to a western origin the distribution also, such as it is (fig. 4), points. A further link in the same direction is provided by a haematite-coated sherd from Caesar's Camp, East-hampstead (near Bagshot), just beyond the county boundary, in the possession of Mr. Stuart Piggott.<sup>5</sup>

The associations of the Surrey pieces, unlike the Kentish, are late. The Epsom sherds were with a 'Wealden' base. The Farnham bowl,<sup>6</sup> though of Hallstatt ancestry, was considered likely to belong to La Tène III.

At Wisley<sup>7</sup> association of the haematite jar with the large quantity of decorated ware probably of first century B.C. date<sup>8</sup> was, it is true, doubtful; but in his commentary Smith was dubious of an early date. The actual pot was of debased A form, which, as we have seen, can last very late in our area. Its shoulder bore three circular hollows arranged in triangular pattern, a rare

<sup>1</sup> Margate in Jessup, *Archaeology of Kent*, 132. Worth in *Antiq. Journ.* viii, 82.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hawkes in *Antiq. Journ.* xx, 115-21.

<sup>3</sup> Jessup, *Arch. of Kent*, 133.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Cant.* xlviii, 160, 166.

<sup>5</sup> Information from Mr. Lowther and Mrs. Piggott. The sherd shows fine-quality haematite and forms part of a rather large globular pot. Rim and base are missing.

<sup>6</sup> *Surrey A.C.*, Farnham volume, 207, pl. xx and fig. 88.

<sup>7</sup> *Antiq. Journ.* iv, 42, fig. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Sussex A.C.* lxxx, 283.



form of decoration to which Bushe Fox<sup>1</sup> has cited continental parallels dating from the Bronze Age to the Roman period. In Britain he quoted parallels from Wroxeter<sup>2</sup> (Roman), Woodcuts Common<sup>3</sup> (a bead-rim bowl), and Cobham<sup>4</sup> (which Smith compared to examples from Glastonbury); but the closest parallels to the ornament come from Hengistbury Head itself.<sup>5</sup> These were there described as of uncertain date; but the high swelling shoulder of most of the vessels cannot be earlier than the arrival of the Belgae. The Wisley vessel also, therefore, can reasonably be related to the other Surrey haematite we are considering.

At Queen Mary's Hospital, Carshalton Camp,<sup>6</sup> the site was occupied by an open settlement producing Ultimate Bronze Age–Iron Age A sherds before the fortifications were erected. The primary silting of the ditch, contemporary with the fortification, produced only 'Wealden' sherds. The haematite piece unfortunately came from the upper levels of the ditch, into which sherds of both periods had silted in fairly equal proportions. On the face of it, then, the sherd could be either early or late, but not intermediate. Since it is an example of the Margate 'clay-slip' technique, it is possible to regard it as belonging to the first period of occupation, and illustrating influence arriving in Surrey in Hallstatt times from Kent;<sup>7</sup> but in view of the Bigberry find noted above it is at least equally possible to ascribe it to the later context, and relate it in time, though not in technique, with the other Surrey haematite under consideration.

This is the Surrey material. Its presence could on present knowledge find explanation on one of three hypotheses. Either the practice of applying haematite to pottery was introduced by the first Iron Age settlers in the fifth century B.C., as in Sussex, and our late examples are descended from them; or it could have been introduced from Wessex in the early third century B.C., in a movement along the northern chalk downs parallel to that which reached Lancing, Highdown, and the Caburn. Finally it could have been introduced later.

Now in considering Sussex, we saw that Hallstatt immigrants found a sturdy Late Bronze Age people in possession, strong enough to survive and modify Iron Age A culture. The result

<sup>1</sup> *Hengistbury Head*, 42.

<sup>2</sup> *Wroxeter* ii, 1913, fig. 8. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations*, i, pl. xxxv, 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Surrey A.C.* xxii, pl. iii, 27 and p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> *Hengistbury Head*, class E, plates xi, xx. See also Fox, *Arch. of the Cambridge Region*, pl. xv, 1 (La Tène III).

<sup>6</sup> *Surrey A.C.*, Farnham volume, 207. Full publication forthcoming by A. W. G. Lowther, by whose courtesy I have this information.

<sup>7</sup> From which, be it noted, must have been derived not only the haematite idea, but also, at this date, the actual material (see pp. 129, 136).



was that whereas in Wessex continuity of culture was broken and pure Hallstatt decoration survived, in Sussex exotic ornamentation died out and finger-printing continued as the favourite decoration. Now Surrey, too, is an area where Late Bronze Age people survived. Continuity of culture was not broken, and even at Farnham, on the very borders of the chalk plain, there is a long transition period from the earlier to the later phase.<sup>1</sup> Thus we can assume that, had haematite been introduced in the fifth century, it would have failed here also to take root; but our one certain fact is that it does occur at Epsom four centuries later (likely though a late date for the others, too, may be). The Carshalton sherd may in fact illustrate just such an abortive introduction from the other direction.

As for the second possibility, it lacks support. At Carshalton Camp there were only two phases, the first starting at the transition to Iron Age, and the second in 'Wealden' times. Nor at the other sites is there anything to suggest a third-century incursion from Wessex; this alternative must therefore be dismissed as lacking any evidence. It is thus not unreasonable to assume Wessex influence arriving in Surrey at a date probably as late as the first century B.C., but certainly not later.<sup>2</sup>

In the present state of knowledge, it is not necessary, and may be rash, to provide an historical context for such a movement. Recent research, however, has thrown so much light on the situation at this time in surrounding areas that it is justifiable to consider the possibilities. Kent seems to have been occupied mainly by Iron Age A survivals<sup>3</sup> and the 'Wealden' people until about 75 B.C., when it was attacked by the Belgic invaders of Iron Age C. Within quite a short time they overran the county as far as the Medway, though beyond it in west Kent the earlier peoples carried on, influenced indeed to greater or lesser extent, but not supplanted until the eve of the Roman Conquest. Between the Belgic area in Kent and the old haematite province of Wessex next to be considered lay Surrey, still a cultural backwater and political no man's land.

In Wessex the last major incursion from across the channel before the Roman Conquest was the arrival of the second wave

<sup>1</sup> See *Surrey A.C.*, Farnham volume, Iron Age section, especially p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Here may be mentioned in confirmation two sherds from Purbery Shot, Ewell, excavated in 1939 by Mr. Lowther and the writer. These were decorated with line-enclosed areas of 'pitted' filling on a reserved background. This style is at home in Wessex (vide *All Cannings Cross*); but here the pits were not so coarse and there were no surviving traces of any white filling. The lines enclosing the pitted zones, too, were curved, and the ware itself and its associations both compatible with a late date.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Cant.* xlviii, 166; li, Oldbury Report, *passim*.



of Belgae led by Commius<sup>1</sup> about 50 B.C. Eastern Wessex seems to have been overrun first, and the invaders spread northwards towards Silchester which became their capital, and gradually westwards towards Dorset and Somerset. Their pottery is quite different from anything known before in the area, and it is clear that once they were established on the borders of Surrey the frontier would be closed to Wessex influence. We must therefore attribute the arrival of haematite in Surrey either to peoples retiring before the western Belgic advance, or to some earlier pressure. Now the western Belgae seem to have been slow in establishing themselves. At Bury Hill, for instance, their occupation was dated to about 20-15 B.C.; Silchester was not reached till the end of the century; and it may be that the earliest parties of invaders were comparatively few in number, but were reinforced by later warriors who escaped from Gaul during the rather vague quarter-century between Caesar's conquest and Augustus's settlement. If then we regard the Belgae as only finally established in the west of Surrey at a date nearer 25 B.C. than 50,<sup>2</sup> this last foreign incursion will seem altogether too late in time to account for the establishment of haematite users in Surrey, and we must look beyond. Previous, then, to the second Belgic invasion, the old A2 culture of fortified villages and peasant farms survived in Wessex for varying periods in different regions. In parts of Wiltshire and Hampshire Marnian influence spread during the second century from centres established during the third,<sup>3</sup> producing the hybrid AB culture found at Bury Hill. 'B' influence would seem to have killed the use of haematite in this area—an additional reason for neglecting it and its Belgic invaders in our search. Farther to the west the A2 culture lasted until in the first century B.C. Iron Age B invaders became its overlords, introducing the culture known as Hill Fort B. This latter invasion Dr. Wheeler originally dated about 100 B.C., suggesting that the invaders were expelled from their continental homes by the Cimbric raids then in progress; but his more recent researches across the Channel<sup>4</sup> have led him to suggest as a more likely context the conquest of the Veneti in Brittany by Julius Caesar in 56 B.C. Rather than submit to Rome, parties of desperate exiles crossed to south-western Britain. Their coming meant no large-scale change of population; rather, they were few in number,

<sup>1</sup> See *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii, 291 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> For further discussion on this point with numismatic evidence see *Proc. Hants Field Club*, xiv, pt. 3, 367.

<sup>3</sup> *Sussex A.C.* lxxx, 237; *Proc. Hants Field Club*, xiv, pt. 3, 334.

<sup>4</sup> Reported in *Antiquity*, xiii, Mar. 1939, where see pp. 77, 78. *Antiq. Journ.* xxi, 265-7.



and settled down as a military aristocracy, politically powerful, but not sufficiently numerous to modify the culture to any large extent. On the whole, then, the peasants of Wessex did not migrate; there was no acute land-hunger. But it is possible that some few families did find themselves driven out; and what more likely than that, unable to find a home in the populous intervening AB area of Hampshire, they should make for the largely empty and backward areas of Surrey? The Surrey haematite is not plentiful enough to betoken a large-scale incursion (yet that is just what the Wessex evidence also makes it impossible to envisage).<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it is often safer<sup>2</sup> to ascribe a new style of pottery, especially a style of so technical a nature as haematite-coating,<sup>3</sup> to an actual folk movement rather than to trade or to some vague 'influence'. Thus the Venetic invasion would provide a context for our haematite; but if the obvious difficulties here seem too great—and it cannot be denied that the intervening AB area, even if it represent no genuine tribal unit, does form a formidable barrier to infiltration from western Wessex,—we must suppose that the haematite users retired into Surrey in face of the expansion of the AB area to its final dimensions during the second century B.C. Here the matter must rest pending further discoveries. It is sufficient to repeat that any earlier date of arrival is ruled out by the absence of that distinctive Wessex early A2 haematite such as was found at Quarley Hill and at Highdown.

Of importance to the question of this technique in Surrey is the discovery of haematite decoration and even a lump of impure haematite<sup>4</sup> among the plentiful material from the south-eastern B pottery-works at Horsted Keynes, dated by Dr. Curwen to the early first century A.D. The site, which lies in the Weald of east Sussex north of Lewes, is remarkable as having produced two unique features, the decoration of certain jars with black paint, and the recrudescence of the haematite technique in Sussex at so late a date.

Now amongst other methods of ornament employed by the Horsted Keynes potters was the application of plastic bands bearing slashed or finger-printed decoration to the girth of the vessels in a manner strongly reminiscent of Iron Age A tradition; and Mr. Hawkes<sup>5</sup> has suggested that the best explanation of this

<sup>1</sup> Any large-scale incursion into Surrey at this time would have come from the east, where the entrance of the Belgic tribes into east Kent may have driven out the earlier occupants westwards. But at present it is not possible to trace any such movement, unless the Carshalton sherd provides a hint.

<sup>2</sup> See Hawkes, *Sussex A.C.* lxxx, 235.

<sup>3</sup> On this point see below, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiquity*, xv, June 1941, 201; *Sussex A.C.* lxxviii, 253–65.

<sup>5</sup> *Sussex A.C.* lxxx, 259.



phenomenon is that, when the Caburn was seized by the 'Wealden' people, its former occupants the Caburn I folk with their devolved A2 culture spread to the surrounding areas, where they did indeed mingle with their neighbours and with new arrivals, but also retained an Iron Age A tradition which manifested itself in this archaic ornament. And so at first sight it might be suggested that the use of haematite was another archaic element brought to Horsted Keynes by these same descendants of Caburn I, whose ancestors had received it three centuries before from Wessex. But finds are absent of haematite in Sussex datable between the start of Caburn I in the third century B.C. and its reappearance at Horsted Keynes in the first century A.D.; and therefore the suggestion cannot be sustained for lack of intermediate links.<sup>1</sup> Nor can any direct connexion with Wessex be sustained. And at once another explanation suggests itself. North of the Weald, as we have just suggested, there had been formed during the century preceding the Christian era some small extension of the Wessex haematite province extending along the Downs of Surrey; and this area was in connexion with the peoples of the Weald. Here, then, in Surrey must lie the source of the haematite idea at Horsted Keynes; but as for the material source, Mr. Ernest Straker informed me that he knew of no haematite deposits in the Weald, and regarded the material used at Horsted Keynes as an importation. Haematite is likewise unobtainable north of the Surrey Downs. If then pure haematite was the material used, we are compelled to envisage some form of long-distance trade in this commodity (no doubt through Surrey) from the Wessex area. In this connexion it is interesting to recall the hints of previous investigators at some central source of diffusion for this style,<sup>2</sup> though, as Professor Childe points out, further clarification must await the results of petrographical analysis.

However, it is not yet by any means certain that we must look so far afield. For Dr. K. P. Oakley has kindly sent the following information:<sup>3</sup>

It is not, I think, necessary to assume that pure, crystalline haematite was always employed to produce the dark red gloss characteristic of Haematite ware. The Wealden iron deposits are likely to yield occasional

<sup>1</sup> And it should be noted that the theory of the descent of raised bands from Iron Age A via Caburn I is itself open to objection. For Dr. Wilson tells me that here again there are no satisfactory links, the slashed decoration of Caburn I ware being applied direct to the vessel (or at best to small cordons), while the later manifestations are on quite large bands rather than cordons, and bands which are more often raised than applied.

<sup>2</sup> Liddell, *Proc. Hants Field Club*, xiii, pt. 1, 23 (Meon Hill); Childe, *Prehist. Communities of the Brit. Isles*, 204.

<sup>3</sup> In advance of his paper on this subject in the Maiden Castle Report.



lumps of anhydrous sesquioxide of iron, particularly in the form of oxidation crusts on clay-ironstone nodules. These crusts, although in some cases of dark red colour, are usually too impure to be described accurately as haematite, although they would probably contain a percentage of that mineral. They would certainly serve for the production of a 'haematitic' slip.

Until therefore scientific analysis has been more generally applied to the study of pottery, the sources of haematite and their different distributions must remain uncertain. But meanwhile it seems very reasonable to connect this Surrey-Sussex haematite area, at least in its later manifestations as at Horsted Keynes, with the rise of the local iron industry in the Weald.

If, then, we assert that the potters at Horsted Keynes looked to the North Downs for this part of their inspiration, are there firmer grounds for such confidence than the occurrence in both areas of the same technique at about the same time (suggestive as this may be)? Doubts on this score begin to be allayed when we find that 'Wealden' bases were present in the Horsted Keynes collection, which must link the site with the north. But there is also direct evidence of intercourse between the Sussex site and central Surrey. During excavations carried out in 1940 the writer and Mr. Lowther discovered under the Roman villa at Windmill Bank, Walton on the Hill, Iron Age ABC sherds of brown soapy ware, and, most significantly, one of these bore traces of a decorated arc in black paint. Unfortunately war conditions have so far prevented direct comparison of this find and the Horsted Keynes wares side by side. But at only one place in England is such painted decoration known to be at home; and the Walton ware certainly closely resembles the former in texture. Thus the two sites were certainly in some form of connexion, and there can meanwhile be little doubt that the Walton vessel was in fact traded from the Sussex site. The Horsted Keynes haematite, then, is best regarded as an extension southwards from the already formed haematite area in Surrey at a date satisfactorily defined by other associated elements at the site as early first century A.D.; and by its means we can more clearly see the Weald as no longer a barrier, but an area with its own cultural traditions and industries, closely bound up with the 'Wealden' folk whose spread from central Sussex was first responsible for the exploitation of its metal.

Thus the two extraneous elements with which we started from our Epsom site, the 'Wealden' base and the haematite ware, have been traced separately from their southern and western sources; and we can see how in Surrey and the Weald the two traditions fused, and became part of a general cultural entity in which the



'Wealden', Marne-descended, element predominated, owing to the numerical weakness of the haematite-using arrivals.

#### CONCLUSION

The Iron Age site at Epsom belonged to a settlement of people whose pottery was mainly in the old tradition of Iron Age A, that is of people who had inhabited Surrey without much interruption or break since Late Bronze Age times;<sup>1</sup> but they had been joined by the Cissbury-Wealden AB folk of the south and east, and by people from Wessex in the west, who contributed two separate though not equally important traditions, the fusion of which created a sturdy and individual culture throughout the Weald and adjacent areas at the close of Iron Age times. These and other considerations have made it plain that the settlement at Epsom must belong to the first century B.C., and perhaps, if our proposals are accepted, to the middle years of that century.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note the survival-value in a backward area of a feature such as finger-printing, which is now being recognized (Curwen, *Arch. of Sussex*, 271; Hawkes, *Sussex A.C.* lxxx, 222, etc.) as the contribution of Late Bronze Age Deverel-Rimbury people to the amalgam of culture which resulted in areas where Late Hallstatt immigrants were in insufficient numbers to supersede, and could only combine.

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## Notes

*The Chambered Cairns of Rousay.*—Prof. Gordon Childe, F.S.A., sends the following: Questions as to the numerical strength of 'megalith builders', the social status of those interred in chambered barrows, or the economy supporting collectivist communities might best be elucidated by an intensive study of a small self-contained area. The most essential preconditions would be that the inventory of existing tombs should be complete and that there should be some grounds for thinking that the figures have not been seriously falsified by destruction in historic or prehistoric times. The second condition is, of course, hard to satisfy; in the Cotswolds, for instance, so admirably surveyed by Crawford, the suspicion of relatively heavy losses cannot be eliminated.

The island of Rousay in Orkney provides a hopeful example of a small natural unit that has been exhaustively explored by Mr. Walter G. Grant and his staff as far at least as the island's south and east coasts are concerned. The survival of tombs on lands that have been or still are under cultivation encourages the hope that all these sepulchral monuments have been respected equally by farmers since their erection.

The area in question occupies about 18 square miles, but more than 5 square miles, roughly a third of the total, is uninhabitable moorland above the 400-ft. contour or steep hill-side. Within this area no less than fourteen chambered cairns<sup>1</sup> are known:

Name	Type	Compartment- ments	Burials	Publication
1. Midhowe	Long-stalled cairn	12	25	PSAS. 1933/4, 320 ff.
2. Rowiegar	" " "	at least 9	disturbed	" "
3. Lairo	Long-horned cairn	3	at least 3	To be printed in PSAS.
4. Ramsay	Long-stalled cairn	14	2	PSAS. 1935/6, 407
5. Yarso	" " "	4	29	PSAS. 1934/5, 325
6. Blackhammer	" " "	7	2	PSAS. 1936/7, 297
7. Taiversoe Tuack	Round two-storied	3 in each	..	PSAS. 1938/9, 155
8. Cobbie Row's Burden	Unexcavated	..	..	Inventory no. 574
9. Craie	Round-stalled cairn	3	..	Inventory no. 568
10. Kierfea Hill	Short-stalled cairn	3	..	..
11. Bigland Farm	Long-stalled cairn unexcavated	..	..	Inventory no. 564
12. Braes of Rinyo (Bigland)	Round-stalled cairn	3	..	Inventory no. 563
13. Faraclett	Round cairn, un- excavated			
14. "	Long, mound, unexcavated, ruins of a chamber exposed.			
15. Peerie Water	(Three pairs of rather thin slabs, but arranged like divisional stones, protruding through deep peat—doubtful.)			

In ten of these it has been possible to recover the general outlines of the chamber's plan. In all cases the burial chamber is divided into from three to fourteen compartments by paired slabs projecting from the side walls. Nos. 1,

<sup>1</sup> I visited all these sites in 1941; the majority have been recorded in the *Inventory* of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments (Scotland), printed in 1939 but not yet issued. Their no. 569 seems to me certainly not a chambered cairn but a round barrow of 'Bronze Age' type and has been omitted here.



2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, and 12 conform strictly to the definition of a stalled cairn laid down by Callander and Grant, though in no. 6 the entrance is from the side. The lower chamber in no. 7 diverges from their standard in that it is built in an artificial excavation in a hill-side, that it is entered from the side, and that the uprights on this side do not project so as to divide the chamber. The upper chamber approximates more closely to the norm, but exhibits peculiarities such



Map of the island of Rousay, showing distribution of chambered cairns.

as entrance from the side and the presence of a sort of cell opposite the entrance. Finally no. 3 is externally a horned cairn of the type familiar in Caithness, while the three 'stalls' of its chamber have been entirely blocked by 'secondary' masonry inserted apparently before the vault was used for interments. Apart from this unique feature the chamber's plan resembles more that of a short stalled cairn (like Craie) than the oval Caithness pattern. Moreover, the revetment of the cairn is formed of slabs laid obliquely in bands in a decorative manner. Now such decorative revetments sustain other Rousay cairns, particularly nos. 1, 4, 5, and 6, probably also 12, and are distinctive of the Rousay group.

The location of nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, and 13 is also characteristic. Each of these six stands right on the edge of one of the precipitous terraces that form a feature of the Rousay landscape. All the excavated cairns that had not been robbed in antiquity (i.e. nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 12) have yielded sherds of Neolithic A pottery; nos. 1, 7, 10, and probably 6 contained, in particular, vessels of the peculiar variant known as Unstan ware, after the cairn on Orkney Mainland where it was first identified.

The fourteen vaults examined therefore constitute such a homogeneous

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group that they may reasonably be attributed to a single culture, i.e. to a people united by common traditions of funerary ritual, architecture, and ceramic art.

Geographically, they fall into three main groups. Nos. 1 and 2 are situated close to the shore only half a mile apart in what is known as Westside. Nos. 3 to 8 stand on ledges overlooking the narrow coastal plain of the south. While the total distance from no. 3 to no. 8 is just under  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles, no two cairns are more than four-fifths of a mile apart, and each must have been visible from the next when intact. Yet within this group, nos. 3-5 form a subgroup overlooking the Frotoft valley, watered by three burns which converge and flow into the Sound at Hullion. Finally, nos. 9-14 stand upon southward slopes overlooking the Sourin valley.

Now these clusters correspond to the main concentrations of modern population. In Westside indeed several small crofts have been absorbed into large farms, leaving only ruins. But there were twenty-one crofts in Frotoft overlooked by cairns 3-5. Nos. 7 and 8 dominate the cluster of eight farms known as Brinyan; the Sourin valley and plain below cairns 9-14 supports now some fifty crofts.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, churches or the sites thereof correspond to each group of cairns: between cairns 1 and 2 lie the ruins of St. Mary's Kirk; a chapel-site is marked at Hullion, on the shore below cairns 3-5; the United Presbyterian church stands between cairn 8 and the shore, and worship is still held in another kirk between the Sourin Burn and cairns 9-10.

All the cairns mentioned stand on land now or recently cultivated, or on the border between arable and heath. Each cairn is also near a spring or burn, a feature noted by Crawford in the Cotswolds, too: St. Mary's Well, a permanent spring, is about 10 yards south of no. 1 on the shore and another spring wells up close to no. 2. Going east one reaches Laird (no. 3) immediately after crossing the Hullion Burn, no. 4 then lies just east of the tributary that drains the Loch of Pitcho, while a second tributary flows just south and east of no. 5. No. 6 stands immediately to the west of the next burn that crosses the main shore road, and no. 7 is similarly related to the next, Trumland Burn. So, too, the Westland Burn flows southward immediately east of no. 9, while a spring rises close to no. 10 and drains east to the larger stream on which no. 11 is situated.

Thus while each major cluster of cairns corresponds to a natural unit fulfilling the conditions prescribed for a 'town' (townland) in the old rural economy of the islands, the individual cairns recall the subdivisions of the 'town' formerly termed 'houses'; for each 'house' had a share of both arable and pasture land and access to water for man and beast. Only there are and were more 'houses' than there are cairns.

The distribution of the cairns thus accords well with deductions from 'neolithic' relics that the cairn-builders' livelihood depended on essentially the same economy as that of the recent population. Neolithic farming cannot, however, have been as efficient as that of a century and a half ago when Rousay supported a total of 770 souls.<sup>2</sup> The difficulty experienced by neolithic and later pre-

<sup>1</sup> Sourin was once divided into three 'towns', and the other divisions noted here diverge somewhat from those mentioned in early scat lists; see Marwick in *Proc. Orkney Ant. Soc.* ii, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Old Statistical Account*, 1793, vii, 336; even in 1627 there were 400 communicants in the parish.



historic stock-breeders in carrying calves over the winter, for instance, has often been noted, and, as usual, the bones of domestic stock from the Rousay cairns have been recorded as belonging to immature beasts. Nor can fishing have been as productive as in recent times.<sup>1</sup> Of course there were still red deer to hunt,<sup>2</sup> but naturally no rabbits. The flat lowlands in the Sourin district that now support a considerable population must have been marshes that could not be drained with a neolithic equipment.

Accordingly the neolithic economy cannot have supported anything like as many mouths as that of the eighteenth century. So each 'neolithic' group would comprise substantially fewer households than its modern equivalent, the 'town'. But it has been shown that the latter correspond geographically to groups of cairns. There would seem then to be no fatal objection on demographic grounds to the suggested comparison of the individual cairns to the 'houses' into which the 'town' was divided. Frotoft might have supported only three households as against twenty-one a century ago, though such households might have been larger than the later standard—e.g. grandfather with sons and grandsons.

Be that as it may, assuming that the surviving cairns are all more or less contemporary, they can hardly be regarded as tombs reserved exclusively for 'chiefs'; for there simply would not be enough land for such chief's followers. The labour force requisite for the erection of the monuments would have been secured by the co-operation of adjacent kinship-groups, such as is familiar in barbarian societies to-day, rather than by the services of retainers.

Admittedly the assumption of approximate contemporaneity for all our fourteen burial mounds is, despite their likeness in furniture and architecture, open to grave objections. In particular the material available for filling the interval between the 'Stone Age', represented by our tombs, and the Iron Age, illustrated in the brochs, is frankly exiguous. I can cite only the 'Skara Brae' settlement at Rinyo, a single hill-top round barrow (unexcavated), and a score or so of cremation burials in small cists or steatite urns<sup>3</sup> that are generally classified as 'Bronze Age'. Nor is it contended that any conclusion valid for Orkney would hold good also for other megalithic provinces such as the Boyne cemeteries or the Cotswold-Severn group.

*Horseshoes from Pevensey.*—Mr. F. Cottrill sends the following note: As Dr. Gordon Ward is not convinced by Mr. Ward Perkins's dating of the Pevensey horseshoe (*Antiq. Journ.* xxi, 238), which was found in an excavation supervised by me, I would like to explain that two horseshoes were actually found, and that their associations gave very fair evidence of their period. The walls and gates of the Roman fort were extensively restored and made defensible by the Normans, whose occupation of the site is also abundantly represented by pottery and other material. There is no such evidence for occupation in the Saxon period. The Norman scheme of refortification of the

<sup>1</sup> Bones of wrasse and bream were noted in no. 1, of conger eel in no. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Remains of red deer were particularly abundant in nos. 4 and 5.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Quandale, *PSAS.* 1936/7, 72; Mansies Knowes, Inventory no. 567 and nos. 563, 572, and 582 and the cremation interments found as secondaries in Taiversoe Tuack.



Roman west gate included a large curved ditch forming a hornwork outside it, and the lower filling of this yielded contemporary pottery and the horse-shoes, which were on one level and about 2 ft. apart. One of them is that figured by Mr. Ward Perkins, and the other is of the same type. The transference of *two* horseshoes (perhaps both off one horse) from an extra-mural scatter of Roman rubbish to the Norman ditch would be even more improbable than that of a single one, and there would seem to be little reason for denying them the medieval origin suggested by their context. It may be added that the Roman defences, as reconditioned in the late eleventh century, continued in use until the middle of the thirteenth, and were then finally abandoned; thus 'mid-twelfth century' is proposed by Mr. Ward Perkins and myself as an approximation to the date when the horseshoes were thrown into the partially silted-up hornwork.

*A Motte at Samarquand.*—Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, F.S.A., contributes the following: In her book entitled *Early Norman Castles in the British Isles* Mrs. E. S. Armitage refers in passing (p. 81) to the suggestion that the Franks of the first crusade may well have planted in Palestine the type of castle to which they were accustomed at home, viz. the motte and bailey. She cites the plans in Rey's *Architecture des Croisés*, especially Montfort and Blanchegarde, and states that there was a wide field open for research in these studies.

Present circumstances make it difficult to ascertain whether or not research has actually been conducted on such lines in recent years. Meanwhile it may not be out of place to quote a passage, originally brought to my notice by my wife, which seems to show that structures of the same kind were erected many hundreds of miles east of Palestine. The Spaniard Clavijo was sent by his sovereign on an embassy to Tamerlane. The journey via the Black Sea, Armenia, and Persia to Samarquand and the return to Spain occupied most of the years 1403 to 1406. Clavijo wrote an interesting account of his journey, of which Guy le Strange's translation was published by Routledge in 1928 in the series entitled 'Broadway Travellers'.

Clavijo and his companions, when close to Samarquand, were quartered at Merser,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the city, in an orchard. In the description of this orchard he writes (*loc. cit.*, p. 216): 'In the exact centre there is a hill, built up artificially of clay brought hither by hand: it is very high and its summit is a small level space, that is enclosed by a palisade of wooden stakes. Within this enclosure are built several very beautiful palaces, each with its complement of chambers magnificently ornamented in blue and gold, the walls being panelled with tiles of these and other colours. This mound on which the palaces have been built is encircled below by deep ditches that are filled with water, for a runlet from the main stream brings this water which falls into these ditches with a continuous and copious supply. To pass up into this hillock to the level of the palaces they have made two bridges, one on the one part, the other opposite, and these bridge-ways are closed with gates. Above lead stairways by which you ascend the height; and thus the palaces are so to speak a fortress apart.'

Again at Jajarm farther west Clavijo mentions as standing in the midst of the city a castle crowning a low hillock artificially built up on clay foundations (*loc. cit.*, p. 176).



It would be difficult to find anywhere a better description of a *motte*, and any further light on the subject will be welcome.

*A Gilt Bronze Cross of the Early Thirteenth Century.*—Dr. W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A., sends the following note: The cross reproduced,<sup>1</sup> in pl. XIII, cast in a sort of golden bronze and retaining traces of heavy gilding, is 10½ in. high (exclusive of the tang), 7¾ in. wide, and (in the straight parts of the limbs) about ¾ in. thick. It was obtained in Paris, in 1927, with no history beyond that it had lately come from Auvergne; and since that year it has been on loan in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Broken near its foot, it has been repaired and strengthened with a piece of bronze of the same colour, roughly soldered to the quite plain, slightly rounded back. As this piece is of the same metal as the cross itself, the tang is unduly short, and there are two holes drilled (presumably to take pins or rivets) through the foot of the cross, we may reasonably suppose that the tang was (as was usual in medieval crosses of this sort) originally much longer than it is now, and that the applied piece was taken from it.

The front of the object combines a simple cross, whose plain, smooth, central part has an edging slightly raised above it, to which the image of Christ is fastened, with four terminations having the form of pilaster-capitals ornamented with foliage in low relief.

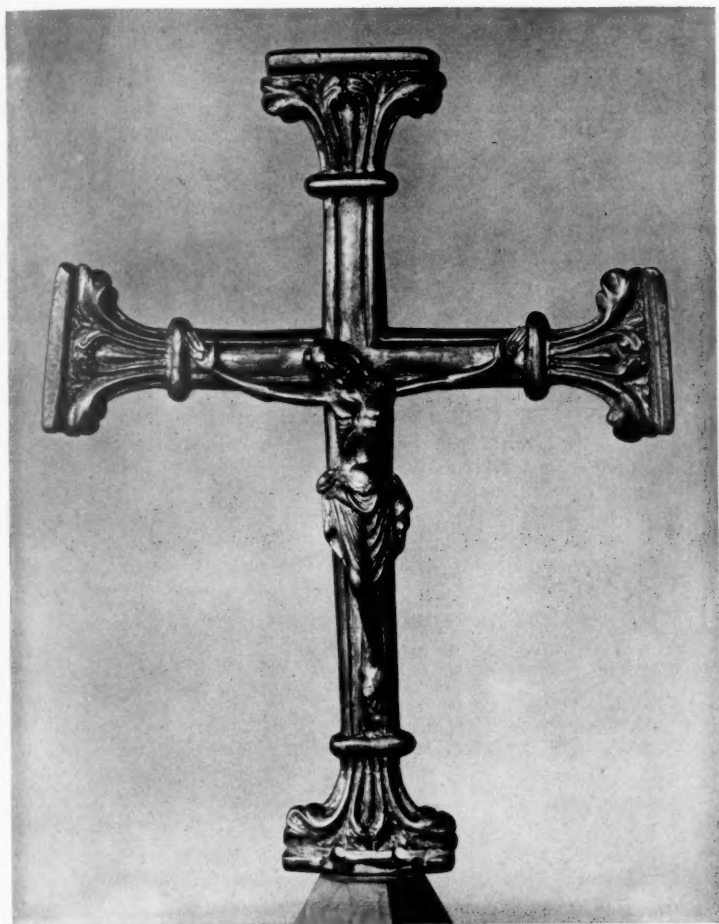
This cross is, so far as my experience goes, unique; indeed, I recall no metallic cross at all resembling it. It may, I think, most probably be English in origin, for it seems to be related in certain directions to a number of English illuminations and to some existing English stone sculpture, whereas I have found no equivalent analogues to Continental objects. But the extreme rarity of surviving metallic crosses, or even the crucifixes from such crosses, known to have been made in England of about A.D. 1200, which might serve us for comparison, must make us cautious about deciding unreservedly concerning its source. The French—to whose art our cross would appear more nearly related than to any other excepting the English—do not claim it; in fact, more than one French scholar has suggested that it is English in origin. Nor do the Germans claim it, even though some of them have perceived in it minor resemblances, in details, to works of the Cologne School of about 1200.

Although I know of no English bronze cross with which the present cross may profitably be compared, it is worth recalling that on certain English bronze crosses, of a fairly common type, of a period (about 1500) considerably later than the period to which the present cross would appear to be assignable, a similar tripartite division of the stem and of the arms is to be found—a feature which, however, is too indeterminate to serve unaccompanied for the localization of the object.

It is, I think, principally to the ends of the limbs that we should turn for guidance; for in relying upon these we seem to be on reasonably safe ground. In English manuscripts of the end of the twelfth century we may see foliage much like that of our cross-ends, but in a freer arrangement than is customary in the case of a capital. The Peterborough Psalter, now at Cambridge in the Fitzwilliam Museum, of the beginning of the thirteenth century, contains

<sup>1</sup> By courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, from a negative belonging to that museum.





Gilt bronze cross, probably English, early thirteenth century



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<sup>11</sup> C

1912,



similar leafage;<sup>1</sup> and, on fol. 12, a crucifix<sup>2</sup> much like the one of our cross, having the same sort of hanging fold in the front of the perizonium, but with the folds below less angular than the corresponding folds in the bronze. Then, we find similar leafage in a psalter written for a nun of the abbey of Amesbury (Wiltshire), about 1250.<sup>3</sup> In the Lindesey Psalter, written about 1220, the often-reproduced miniature of Christ on the Cross<sup>4</sup> depicts Him in much the same attitude and position as those in which He is represented on our cross, but with the hands more horizontal; the hanging fold of the loin-cloth is again very similar to that of our cross, but—again—the other folds are less angular. The cross in this miniature is notable for its wealth of foliage, but while the elements of this much resemble those of our cross-ends, their general disposition differs distinctly from that of the leaf-forms on our cross. Some comparable foliage is also included in initials of that same psalter. Furthermore, the cross within a cross, formed in the Lindesey 'Crucifixion' miniature by a leafy cross against a coloured cruciform background, is to some extent paralleled by the shape of the main body (i.e. the cross-ends being omitted) of our cross. And among secular manuscripts of the late twelfth century there are bestiaries wherein somewhat similar leafage occurs: in one, the terminal foliage of certain 'trees'<sup>5</sup>—but open and not disposed symmetrically—is very like that in our cross-ends; in the other, there is foliage, not quite so similar, which is even more open and more slender.<sup>6</sup>

Something analogous to the arrangement of the foliage of our cross may be seen on a thirteenth-century tile in the chapter house of Westminster Abbey.<sup>7</sup> In architecture—in which we should naturally expect to find the prototypes of our capital-shaped terminals—we may see in the south transept of Wells Cathedral capitals of about 1200 which resemble fairly closely those terminals.<sup>8</sup> Those capitals, in reality in very high relief with undercutting, in two-dimensional reproductions—e.g. photographic ones—look much like the terminals of our cross. The Wells capitals in question are, like those terminals, tall as compared with their width, their lower parts recall to mind the expanded bands wherefrom spring the terminals' foliage, and some of them surmount very flat columns reminiscent of the central division of each limb of the cross. Corresponding parallels may also be seen in some of the north transept's capitals,<sup>9</sup> and in some of the cathedral's corbels.<sup>10</sup> There is perhaps a further parallel to be discerned, between our cross and the sculpture at Wells, in a similarity between the hang of the loin-cloth of the crucifix and the fall of the garments of a number of the cathedral's stone figures datable about 1230.<sup>11</sup> Some capitals

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century*, Paris and Brussels, 1926, pls. 71, 72. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 71. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 82.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 69. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 56, reproducing fol. 6v of Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 4751.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. O. E. Saunders, *English Illumination*, Florence and Paris, i, pls. 49a, 50.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Westminster Abbey*, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, London, 1924, pl. 16; F. Bond, *Dedications of English Churches*, Oxford, 1914, 173; *Burlington Mag.* xxx [1917], 134.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. particularly Victoria and Albert Museum photographs nos. 228–1914 and 230–1914, 66–1936, 2293–1937.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 1088–1911 and 1089–1911.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 3305–1937, 1200–1938.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. E. S. Prior and A. Gardner, *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, Cambridge, 1912, figs. 325, 326, 327, 333, 334, *et al.*



in Salisbury Cathedral, also, include foliage analogous—but not quite so like as the Wells foliage—to that in the terminals of our cross.

From the evidence above presented, and in the absence of any to the contrary, I think that we may reasonably presume our cross to be of English make, and of about the first third of the thirteenth century. The circumstance that it appears to have been situated in Auvergne until fairly recently, and the fact that it seems not to be French, both favour its attribution to an English craftsman, because in the twelfth century Auvergne was, through Eleanor of Aquitaine's marriage to Henry II, brought under the suzerainty—a suzerainty which was in being at the time whereat we may presume our cross to have been made—of English kings.

*Irish coats in continental Rolls of Arms.*—Mr. A. R. Wagner, F.S.A., Portcullis, contributes the following note: In his valuable paper in the July issue Mr. S. M. Collins warns us to treat the erratic evidence of foreign heraldic sources with circumspection. The puzzling variant which we explain so ingeniously may really be simply a mistake. It is with diffidence therefore that I offer the following conjectures upon cruces which Mr. Collins, perhaps more wisely, notes without comment.

The Uffenbach Roll, which Galbreath (*Die Wappenbücher des deutschen Mittelalters*, no. 14) assigns to the end of the fourteenth century, gives the following coats to four Irish *Grafs*; *von Lagonie* Argent a hand gules; *von Conaxien* Gules three fishes argent; *von Ultonigen* Or a cross gules; *von Ultonigen* bis Argent a stag or. Now the first of these is the coat of O'Neill and it does not seem impossible that *Lagonie* may derive from some corruption of that name. The coat for Connaught is that of the Roches, Lords Fermoy, who were considerable lords *in* (though not *of*) Connaught by the middle-fifteenth century and probably earlier; and Or a cross gules is, of course, the coat of the Burghs Earls of Ulster.

The stag for Ulster may be connected with the coat assigned to the King of Ireland in three rolls quoted by Mr. Collins, of a stag issuing from a tower, now the Royal crest for Ireland. The oldest of these three rolls is the Montjoy, of which this part probably dates from the early fifteenth century (*ex inf.* S. M. Collins). Now may not the stag and tower device have been taken by Richard II at the time of his Irish expedition of 1394–5, the stag being his favourite lodged hart badge transmuted, and the tower his castle from which he sallied overseas? That the hart badge was used before the Irish expedition seems proved (*cf.* M. V. Clarke, *Fourteenth Century Studies*, p. 277), and we know from Froissart (*Chroniques*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, xv, 180) that it was on the same occasion that Richard, to please the Irish, assumed the Arms of St. Edward. In any case the stag of the *Graf von Ultonigen* in Uffenbach could be a variant of the lodged hart badge, used by Roger or Edmund Mortimer as Earl of Ulster.

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## Reviews

*Design for a Journey.* By M. D. ANDERSON.  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$ . Pp. viii + 140. Cambridge: University Press, 1940. 7s. 6d.

This small book of essays, mainly about churches and their monuments, was written by M. D. Anderson (in private life Mrs. Trenchard Cox) as a frank piece of escape literature in the early days of the war. Such a thing has been done before often enough, but rarely with such skill and lightness of learning that an ordinary reader feels that here is a book worth more than a passing remembrance. The design for the journey is less formal than one might expect from the table of contents, and by passing reference or by explicit visit the author manages to include many of the well-known ecclesiastical treasures of England and Wales, and some that are not so well known. Among the twenty-five essays there is a pleasing variety ranging in subject from the Royal Saints of England to Handel's organ at Stanmore, the story of Jesse Trees, Architectural Models, and Folly in Architecture, and if there is undue prominence given to medieval carving, most readers will quickly realize that here is the author's speciality.

The book is well illustrated (we were pleased to see that the fifteenth-century rood screen at Partrishow was chosen for reproduction in *The Countryman* recently), but a major point of criticism is that the often incomplete footnote references (e.g. pp. 32, 33, 75) are of the minimum of help to the reader who wishes to use them.

R. F. JESSUP

*The Streets of London through the Centuries.* By THOMAS BURKE.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. 152 + viii. London: Batsford, 1940. 10s. 6d.

The names of both author and publisher are good evidence of the excellence of this latest member of the now well-known 'British Heritage' series. Mr. Burke has already written half a dozen readable books on London and the varied aspects of its life. Many people agree that his *London Spy* is the best book of its kind. Messrs. Batsford's remarkable collection of photographs is here augmented by access to private collections, notably that of Messrs. W. T. Spencer of New Oxford Street: the reader must decide for himself whether the selection was made to illustrate the book, or whether the book encompasses a collection of pictures.

Mr. Burke divides his London story into five sections. The first deals with London before 1600; then follows an account of Stuart and eighteenth-century times, and finally two chapters about Victorian London and London within memory. Within this widely designed framework he fits a really amazing mass of detail drawn from wide reading and a first-hand acquaintance with the existing remains of historic London. The treatment is on somewhat general lines, and quite wisely in a book of this kind he refrains from a critical account of architectural matters. There is doubtless much that could have been added, and certainly some of the many quotations might with advantage have been omitted, but altogether Mr. Burke has amply succeeded in his attempt to 'show something of the London that was, through the medium of the life of its streets'.

R. F. JESSUP



*Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. A list of surviving books.* Edited by N. R. KER. 9 x 5½. Pp. xxiii + 169. London: Royal Historical Society, 1941.

This handsome and attractive volume is the third in a new series of *Guides and Handbooks* published by the Royal Historical Society to supplement existing series. Actually nos. 1 and 3 are styled 'Guides' while no. 2 appeared as a 'Handbook', but however slight and trivial the distinction may appear, it is well sustained, for this 'Guide' should lead the steps of many hundreds of readers to a path of comparative safety.

Few bibliographies in these care-free days can have been compiled with greater diligence and skill than this 'Guide', even though it was intended for the use of a large and mixed assemblage of readers. The standard sources are displayed here, from Leland and Dugdale to Nicolas and Phillippis. The public, official, university, and private libraries have been ransacked, especially those that were in touch with descendants of the Dissolution grantees. Even those in the possession of foreign or colonial owners have been requisitioned and appended to the treasures of English, Welsh, and Scottish and Irish archives. And the editor's preface not only locates the several sources but assists the student to obtain ready access to them. Here the often selfish and unscholarly methods of those early dissipators or collectors may be contrasted with the generous and scholarly aid of the modern editor and his willing and competent assistants. But the opinions expressed by them are often in the negative, for all medieval books still to be found in the libraries of churches, colleges, or academies must be excluded from this list of books once belonging to those institutions before the middle of the sixteenth century. Again, we find that though business records, such as cartularies, inventories, rentals, 'mortuary rolls', and letter books are excluded from these lists, 'Service books' are included for what appear to be good reasons.

Some further omissions have been considered necessary though not always complete exclusions from the list or index. With regard to methods of study, however, Mr. Ker rightly notes that the style of a script is scarcely a satisfactory method of identification though certain local peculiarities may be recognized. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the shameless mutilation of the ancient bindings is strongly condemned.

In spite of the scrupulous care displayed in the compilation of the various lists, appendices, and indexes, this Guide will make some demands upon the patience and intelligence of its readers, many of whom may not be fully aware of the far-reaching activities of the foreign agencies that have been at work in recent years for the dispersal of British archives. For example, members of the Royal Historical and other Societies who have been accustomed to the segregation of foreign readers and libraries under their respective nationalities might be startled by the proximity of Paisley and Paris or Leicester and Leningrad, to say nothing of Richmond in Surrey or Virginia and Sweetheart in Garrett Building, Baltimore. On the other hand, historical intercourse has become increasingly cosmopolitan in our own times and the historical student is easily acclimatized, but human nature being what it is, we might have expected to hear the gibe that some desirable charters have been withdrawn lest the seals should suffer from a semi-tropical climate.

Again, different views might be taken as to the value of certain 'business'

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documents, for a very high authority has reminded us that 'no such parallel series is available for any other religious institution'. Moreover, 'such as these may bring a gain to learning and to men's understanding of life which could not otherwise come about'. In England and America the bible was a desirable instrument of culture and this reverence might be extended to the contents of the monastic libraries, protected by parallel 'inscriptions'. Some day the pious inscriptions and dedications that have survived on religious and secular fabrics may possibly seem worth adding in an appendix to some medieval bibliography, for more than one can supply a passionate vindication of political or economic conditions and aspirations—*Superest plebs, miserrima testis*—a testimony that was deeply appreciated by a scholar who laid the foundations of our economic and social history more than fifty years ago.

H. H.

*Le Haut Moyen Âge en Lorraine.* By ÉDOUARD SALIN. 11½ × 8¾. Pp. 335. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1939.

Students of the Migration Period will rejoice that a French archaeologist has come to their help. We have been wanting this to happen for some years, and it is pleasant to welcome M. Édouard Salin, who now most successfully resumes the labours of Barrière-Flavy, Boulanger, Pilloy, Scheurer, and others, who were at work shortly before the last war, and of de Baye, Abbé Cochet, and Peigné-Delacourt, the great men whose principal works belong to the nineteenth century. M. Salin now gives us a large and sumptuously illustrated book describing three cemeteries (Sion, Villey, and Trémont) in Lorraine that he has himself excavated, and the thorough manner in which he has performed his task is a conspicuous credit to archaeology in France. He is indeed a devoted exponent of accuracy and detailed observation in excavating graves, and he describes his methods very fully and prints for each cemetery a *Journal des fouilles* of the most satisfactory completeness. No problems presented by his discoveries are left unstudied. The most minute plant and animal remains are identified; the contents of vessels are analysed; and he invites specialists to assist with the microscope and the spectroscope in the examination of metals, glass, pastes, and pottery; while, archaeologically, he writes with wide learning and considerable originality on the age and significance of the grave-goods. A justifiable complaint might be that M. Salin is almost too learned; for there is very little archaeology of any period and any country that does not come into this book, and my own impression is that in a work expressly dealing with Lorraine cemeteries of the period fifth to eighth century A.D. we can do without pictures of Bronze Age beakers, Hallstatt and La Tène pottery, Ordoz bronzes, Chinese metal-work, an Egyptian alabaster, a Peruvian pot, a Romanesque ivory draughtsman, a nineteenth-century eastern textile, and two Norwegian mast-churches; but in fairness to the author it must be recorded that all this is used very cleverly, and as he is prepared to call four of the Lorraine finds Sarmatian (pl. VIII) and the Ramecourt jewelled brooch Byzantine (pl. XVII, 8a and b), we must allow him some pictorial evidence of the enormous range of his survey.

The three cemeteries did not produce any sensational finds, but they were interesting sites with a valuable series of grave-goods. There is evidence of the ritual mutilation of the body (*corps décapités*) and of the use of flints, sometimes found among the contents of purses, as amulets, not as strike-a-lights, these



including at a cemetery previously excavated (Lezéville) arrow-heads and a piece of a polished axe. M. Salin also mentions the discovery of a La Tène brooch in one of the Villey graves and compares this with the Bronze Age metal lance-tips found in Teutonic graves at Michery (Yonne) and Béhaut (Vosges). A balance is also an important find, and the subject of a learned essay; another notable object is a comb in an ornamental bone case, and another is an iron-weaver's baton. The beads are illustrated in colour, and are studied with the elaborate and technical scientific methods also used in the investigation of the pottery and glass. Of the pottery it is interesting to note that a scrupulous examination of the contents suggests to the author that what we ordinarily think of as food-vessels and drinking-cups really contained sacred and healing waters; as regards the glass M. Salin emphasizes the distinction in the Lorraine between Roman Period potash-glass and the Migration Period soda-glass, and he publishes important tables of analyses of Egyptian and European glass vessels that will be very useful to specialists.

An English reviewer must remark that while it is true that Anglo-Saxon archaeology cannot contribute a great deal of help to M. Salin's research, it could assist him a little, and it may accordingly be observed that the study of it has not ended with Akerman, Thomas Wright, and de Baye, the only authors he cites. Mr. Leeds, of course, unchangingly young and still hard at work, may escape notice as a too modern star, but I do think the labours in this field of Baldwin Brown and Reginald Smith might have been consulted, for I believe M. Salin would have found them useful. As it is, we must be content with a footnote reference to the *Romains of Pagan Saxondom*, a pregnant title that will delight the admirers of Bryan Faussett.

T. D. K.

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## *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*

*Thursday, 29th January 1942.* Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the chair.

Mr. William Ingram Leeson Day was admitted a Fellow.

Mr. A. D. Lacaille, F.S.A., and Professor A. J. E. Cave read a paper on Châtelperron (Allier): a new survey of its industry with a note on a human calvaria.

*Thursday, 26th February, 1942.* Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the chair.

Mr. Frederick William Duart-Smith was admitted a Fellow.

The following were appointed Auditors of the Society's accounts for the year 1941: Mr. E. A. B. Barnard, Mr. A. Gardner, Mr. E. C. Ouvry, and Mr. E. S. M. Perowne.

Mr. W. F. Grimes, F.S.A., read a paper on Burn Ground, Hampnett, Glos.: a Cotswold burial site of three periods.







